

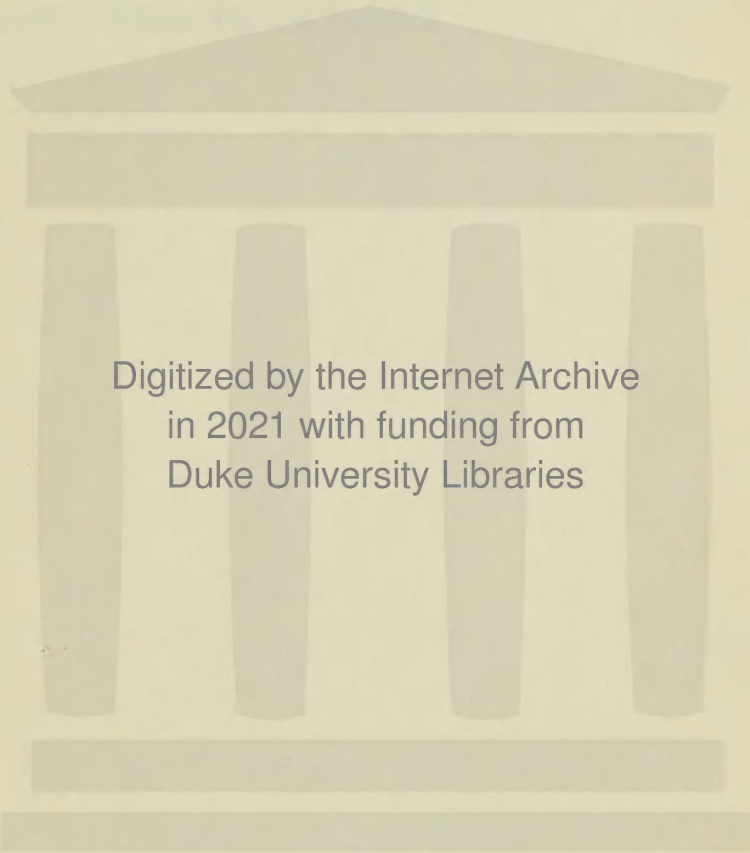


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**SLUMS, PROJECTS, and PEOPLE**



Social Science Research Center  
College of Social Sciences  
University of Puerto Rico

# **Slums, Projects, and People**

**Social Psychological Problems of Relocation in Puerto Rico**

**Kurt W. Back**

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**To the Memory of  
José N. Gandara**



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## **SLUMS, PROJECTS, and PEOPLE**



# **1. Introduction**

## **Homes and Housing**

The image of the living conditions of a people, from the cursory impression of a traveler to the serious evaluation by experts, hinges to a great extent on housing conditions. The pattern of houses in towns and along the countryside, the materials of which they are built, the relative amount of space and overcrowding, maintenance and dilapidation, form one of the most visible aspects of people's lives. Programs for social and economic change frequently include a direct attack on housing. Moreover, housing conditions are bound to change as a result of even those programs which do not include direct attacks on them.

People frequently see the home as an outer shell of the self. Where a person lives and how he lives determine the view which he has of his place in the community, his role, his status, and his style of life. Consequently, a major change in housing conditions implies a major adjustment of a person's self-concept. He may not be ready to accept this change, even if objectively it could be

only for the better. The social reformer who sees in rehousing a major advance in general social conditions is sometimes baffled by the resistance of slum dwellers who see in the proposed change a threat to their self-image.

Housing thus forms a bridge between individual and public life. Substandard housing is seen by public policy-makers as a source of disease, crime and other hazards, as well as an intrinsically undesirable social phenomenon. In addition, they see housing as a fulcrum at which desirable changes in people's lives can be initiated. But just because this is the point at which public policy can affect directly the style of one's life, the people concerned may react to proposed changes in housing in a manner which seems incongruous. The events which the administrator calls "slum clearance" and "relocation" are seen by the people as loss of home and exposure to the hazards of a new way of life.

Some minor changes which are eminently sound for engineering reasons may have unexpected personal significance. Skilled relocation workers have to expend considerable effort to convince the residents of sites which are to be razed that they should move into the new housing being built for them. Frequently they run into serious conflicts. Sometimes families move to new areas which show little improvement over the original location; at other times hostility becomes focused into organized action. In the interplay between physical and cultural planning, social and individual factors become crucial. To understand some seemingly irrational actions can be helpful in more constructive social planning.

A study of the relocation process has importance beyond its immediate context. Wherever there is change in social conditions, which means everywhere to some extent, people must decide how far they want to go in accepting the change. They have to decide whether they will try to stay in the old conditions, and how various changes will affect their lives. This problem becomes much more concrete if the proposed change refers to definite physical conditions, and even more so if it is in the context of many social and physical changes.

The concept of relocation contains a basic ambiguity which corresponds to its delicate place in a development scheme. At first glance it refers to the authority's relocating a basically passive crowd

of people from an undesirable location to a desirable one. However, people cannot be moved this way with any hope of success in the basic aims of a program. Thus, relocation becomes an activity of the people concerned, which is not always in line with the aims of the administrator. Jack Meltzer has sketched the basic implications of relocation in the monumental report of the Urban Redevelopment Study.

"Relocation has become the symbol of inadequacy and frustration. Relocation has meant the uprooting of families, enforced homelessness, sacrifice of neighborhood values, threats to sources of political power, and equally important, the superimposing of a way of life quite often inconsistent with the very objectives the plan is intended to serve."<sup>1</sup> He concludes by making relocation an active process: "Success in the future lies essentially not with the relocater—but in the strengthening and acceptance of the community's overall planning process."<sup>2</sup>

Even more than in slum-clearance projects in stateside cities, a move from substandard housing to public projects in Puerto Rico means an important step for many people. A study of relocation in this country, therefore, gives insights into the general process of social change as it is reflected in peoples's lives, and a special insight into the interplay of physical, social, and individual factors. Thus, relocation is the process of social change in microcosm. It has two important social functions: to protect some of the depressed sections of the population and to help some people build a base from which they can seek a better life on their own.

## Decisions and Dramatism

The change implied in the move from the slum site is not the gradual one of continuous mechanical action, but it is discontinuous by implying a practically irreversible extensive change as soon as a crucial point in the process is reached. This is a characteristic of

<sup>1</sup> J. Meltzer, "Relocation of Families Displaced," in C. Woodbury, ed., *Urban Redevelopment: Problem and Practices* (Chicago, 1953), p. 451.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 453.

decision, and we must therefore treat relocation in the framework of the question of how decisions are reached.

In keeping with the double nature of the relocation process, two sets of decisions are involved: the decisions of the housing authority and the decisions of the individual tenants. Studies of the relocation process have focused on the first kind of decision.<sup>3</sup> Even where stress is being put on individual participation and the importance of personal needs is expressly acknowledged, the structure of research follows mainly the administrative actions—how things are being done in the community.<sup>4</sup> This study, by contrast, will restrict itself to the second kind and use primarily data from the people involved.

Individual decisions of this kind can be considered in several ways: people can try to obtain the maximal satisfaction out of the given situation; for instance, the best housing for the available resources. This kind of decision can be determined by an evaluation of the situation, that is, by comparing housing needs, resources, and costs, or the push-pull analysis.<sup>5</sup> Another kind depends only on individual predispositions, relatively independent of the objective needs. Neither of these two types, which we can call rational or irrational decisions, takes into account the abrupt and creative change which the decision on an important issue implies. This component of the decision process we can call the non-rational decision, which is a creative restructuring of the situation by the individual.<sup>6</sup>

It is possible to identify the stages in the process, to collect data on the people affected, and to isolate the different aspects. We shall investigate the relations of housing aspirations to economic resources, on which rational decisions depend, and personality dispositions which may lead people to irrational decisions. While

<sup>3</sup> E.g., E. C. Banfield and M. Meyerson, *Politics, Planning, and the Public Interest* (Glencoe, Ill., 1955).

<sup>4</sup> M. Millspaugh and G. Breckenridge, *The Human Side of Urban Renewal*, ed. M. L. Colean (New York, 1960).

<sup>5</sup> This system accounting for migration was developed by C. W. Mills, C. Senior, and Rose K. Goldsen, in *The Puerto Rican Journey* (New York, 1950). A similar accounting scheme also underlies P. H. Rossi's *Why Families Move* (Glencoe, Ill., 1955), which deals with residential mobility. However, Rossi deals with mobility in the open housing market, and his accounting scheme is not immediately applicable here.

<sup>6</sup> K. W. Back, "Decisions Under Uncertainty: Rational, Irrational, and Non-Rational," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 1961, 4, 14-19.



examining in detail these aspects of relocation, it is important that we not lose sight of the entire flow of events and the setting in which the crucial decision is made. Some special psychological and sociological hypotheses can be studied in individual relationships, but a rougher and more general scheme is needed to order the whole process.

The framework selected here is to use dramatic aspects of a change of this kind, and to employ the terminology of the drama. We shall follow the classificatory scheme of Kenneth Burke, dividing action into five categories: scene, agent, act, agency, and purpose.<sup>7</sup> The interrelations between these categories, which Burke calls "ratios," are not exact mathematical formulations but general congruences. Thus, the scene-agent ratio implies that people correspond to a certain degree to the physical conditions in which they live. Physical conditions determine in part a person's character, but also a person will create his own physical environment.

Each of these key terms can therefore serve as an independent and as a dependent variable; reliance on one of them as the main independent variable leads to some systematic distortion. Thus, if only scene (physical environment) is taken as an independent variable, we can build a one-sided system, that is, a materialistic interpretation which will deny any other influences.

It becomes apparent that this system of "dramatism" is a classificatory device which insures that no aspect of human action is neglected. It is, in a sense, a meta-theory under which other theories can be used and evaluated. Any theory tries to fit complex events into a simple scheme which can be expressed analogously. Drama may be a fruitful analogy as it is itself a symbolic compression of human behavior. Some dramatic concepts, such as role, have been taken over profitably into social research, and it is likely that a more liberal use of these concepts will contribute to our understanding of social processes.<sup>8</sup>

Let us now consider the relocation process as analogous to the drama, described in these five key terms. At first glance we find

<sup>7</sup> K. Burke, *A Grammar of Motives* (New York, 1945).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. N. Foote, "Anachronism and Synchronism in Sociology," *Sociometry*, 1958, 21, 17-29. Another approach to interaction in dramatic terms is given by E. Goffman, *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* (New York, 1959).

the major importance of the *scene*. The scenic conditions, housing, present the basic problems. Slums denote a bad physical environment. Therefore, the first interpretation is that a change in scene will lead to a change in the *agents*. This assignment of a passive role to the residents turns out to be rather an oversimplification. The families are not objects but are active agents, being able to create public issues and to exert some political control on public agencies. Even beyond their role as citizens, the families in sub-standard housing play an active part in the relocation process by their degree of co-operation, resistance, and ultimate decision to move. The purely mechanical impact of the act of housing change cannot be the central issue; we must investigate the *purpose* of the whole process.

Certainly there are goals beyond the change in housing itself for the residents as well as for the public authority. Safety, comfort, health, and family life are the values for which the general program and individual strive. We must learn about these in order to understand the meaning of housing change in a larger context.

Public housing developments are only one way of achieving these aims, and we can designate the specific type of housing solution as the *agency*, the means of achieving the purposes. The type of *action* taken when the slum is razed will be contingent on the possible change in the physical housing conditions, on the personality of the residents, on their aims, and on the ways in which they see that these aims can be fulfilled. This is the framework in which we can study relocation as decision process.

## The Setting of the Study

Housing has been one of the high priority programs in government planning in Puerto Rico. Rapid population increase and migration from rural areas to towns resulted in the hasty building of wooden and cardboard structures which covered vast areas of land. Frequently families settled as squatters on tideland (below the high tide line) which is federal property. By the early forties San Juan

had in this way the largest slum in the world, appropriately named El Fanguito, "the little mud hole."<sup>9</sup>

At this time remedial measures were started. A series of housing projects were built by the Puerto Rican Housing Authority and the local housing authorities of San Juan, Ponce, and Mayagüez. El Fanguito was cleared in great part and other slum areas were razed also. Although some experiments were conducted in the different approaches to housing problems (especially in San José, which is the resettlement area for El Fanguito), the principal emphasis was on the building of housing projects. A number of apartment buildings up to five stories high were used partly in order to conform with the standards of the U. S. Public Housing Administration. By 1954 eight thousand families were living in these types of housing projects, and units for ten thousand additional families were under construction.<sup>10</sup> Relocation was in progress from twenty-five sites and twenty-one localities.<sup>11</sup> However, the housing problem was far from solved, and a considerable proportion of the families on the island still lived in slum conditions.

The program encountered its share of difficulty. There was considerable resistance among the slum dwellers to moving to the housing projects. When the destruction of El Fanguito began, large processions moved away carrying black flags, mourning for the destruction of their homes. Resistance of this kind had to be overcome at each new site, and relocation workers had to persuade residents to move into housing projects. This was true in spite of the existence of waiting lists for the projects. Frequently the people from the cleared sites simply moved to other slums while newcomers moved into the new developments.

The relocation workers and other officials of the housing authority saw various reasons for this resistance. First, most of the slum housing was owner-occupied. Second, the residents frequently

<sup>9</sup> Rexford Guy Tugwell, who was governor of Puerto Rico from 1941-1946, tells that before leaving on his new assignment, he received two instructions from President Roosevelt: "Tell me . . . whether we have got rid of the slums; and whether there is any place on the island to get a safe drink of water." *The Stricken Land* (New York, 1947), p. 73.

<sup>10</sup> Estado Libero Asociado de Puerto Rico, Junta de Planificacion, *Eliminacion de Arrabales*, Bulletin de Divulgo, #10, Santurce, P. R., 1954.

<sup>11</sup> Home and Housing Finance Administration, *Relocation of Families through 1955* (Washington, D. C., 1955).

tapped power lines and hence did not have to pay for utilities. The necessity of paying regularly for rent and utilities appalled them. Third, they resisted the novel idea of apartment buildings and the regulations in them. They were incapable of adhering to such prohibitions as the keeping of domestic animals or the businesses of lunch counters in the dwellings. Another reason was the concentration of low-income families and the consequent difficulty of picking up casual work from wealthier neighbors. Finally, the slum gave its dwellers a sort of emotional and financial security. Well-known neighbors moved to assist in emergencies and would allow credit to be established in the stores.

These particular reasons lead to the general impression that the move to a housing project involved more than obtaining better housing; it meant a change in the way of life. The move is what we call an *act*. The change of scene is important in the life of the agent and has to be co-ordinated with his purposes. Resistance can be understood by inquiring into the personality of the agent, his goals, and his perception of the means to them.

### **Preliminary Study**

A preliminary study to find some indication of the basis of reactions to proposed relocation was made from the records of two completed slum clearance projects. Complete folders on each family, while they do not give any direct attitude data, do include the most important demographic and economic background information in addition to the disposition after each interview. In the early interviews the households could withdraw from consideration, and this was marked on the record. However, the case was handled as long as the family lived on the site, thus allowing the family to change its mind at a later time. The final outcome was either a move into the housing project or a move away from the site. Some families were ineligible for various reasons, but they will not be considered here.

The principal questions which this preliminary study tried to answer were: "What kinds of families did refuse at first to be relo-

cated?" and "What kinds did or did not move into the housing project?" As is shown in Tables 1 and 2, there are definite differences which distinguish among families who show different kinds of initial reactions and another set of differences if we consider the final decisions.

**Table 1.** Factors Associated with Initial Reaction to Relocation According to the Records of Two Housing Projects

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	ORIGINALLY REJECT			ORIGINALLY ACCEPT		
	Finally Moved In	Finally Withdrew	Total	Finally Moved In	Finally Withdrew	Total
1. AGE OF HEAD						
Median	43.3	42.9	43.0	37.9	37.5	37.8
Percent over 40	<i>64</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>44</i>
2. NUMBER OF ADULTS						
Median	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.6
Percent of families with more than two (2) adults	32	35	35	21	20	21
3. RENTAL STATUS (Percent renters)	14	27	27	54	60	55
4. PERCENT OF INCOME PAID FOR SHELTER (Renters only)						
Percent of families spending more than 10%	■	59	59	67	68	67
Median	■	11.9	12.7	11.9	13.5	12.3
NUMBER OF FAMILIES	28	105	133	127	64	191

■ Only four cases.

The families who raised objections at first are older than those who did not. That is to say, the head of the household was likely to be older, and the household tended to include more adults. Further, the resisters were more likely to own their homes. If they did not, they paid less rent in proportion to their income than the families who were willing to move from the beginning.

The final decision depends principally on the family composition (Table 2). The families who eventually moved into the project have more children, and are more likely to be a legal, nuclear family without including additional relatives and household members.



**Table 2.** Factors Associated with Decision to Move into Project According to Records of Two Housing Projects

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	FINALLY WITHDREW			FINALLY MOVED IN		
	First Accepted	First Rejected	Total	First Accepted	First Rejected	Total
1. NUMBER OF CHILDREN Median	1.8	1.9	1.9	3.1	3.7	3.2
2. FAMILY TYPE Percent Standard (Spouse and wife living in family)	73	68	70	76	89	79
3. PERCENT LEGALLY MARRIED (Standard family only)	51	68	61	67	76	70
4. PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH ADDITIONAL ADULTS	22	25	24	12	14	12
NUMBER OF FAMILIES	64	105	169	127	28	155

Unfortunately, there is a difficulty in making this comparison. As the majority of the families did not change their opinions, families who accepted relocation at first are in great part also those who moved in eventually. Those who rejected at first did not move into projects, that is, the two comparisons overlap to a considerable extent. We can control for this circumstance by comparing families with the same initial reaction according to their final decision, and vice versa. These comparisons, also shown in Tables 1 and 2, confirm the differences which we have described and show that they are not based on an artifact.

The differences which we have found distinguish between the influence of the person and the scene, and the ultimate purpose. The type of family which emerges as the early resister is one which has difficulties in changing, either because of the presence of older people who can be presumed to be more settled in their ways, or because of living arrangements such as home ownership and low rent which may be difficult to relinquish. The family which eventually does move in is the one where the presence of children and absence of extended family may produce an orientation toward the future. The principal concern of a family of this kind will frequently be to bring up the children in a healthy environment. The housing

project offers such an opportunity, with new buildings, health clubs, and playgrounds.

The preliminary survey of records indicated the classes of factors entering into the decision to move into a housing project. The simple scene-determined motive, i.e., the improvement in housing conditions, seems to be insufficient to explain the decision or refusal to move into a housing project. The static traits of the agents help to explain at least the first reaction to a proposed change. For the explanation of the act of moving itself, we must look to the purpose, that is, the goals of the agents, and to their perception of the means. What do the residents of the clearance sites want, and how do they view the solutions which they are offered? The records give indirect evidence of the different facets and also indicate a time sequence of their importance. A direct survey of the persons concerned followed in a further investigation of the problem.

The purpose of the survey was to lead to an understanding of the relocation process, because of its intrinsic interest, as well as because it gives a miniature picture of individual reaction to social change. The design of the survey extended in three directions. It included respondents from all stages of the relocation process, from those who were living in slums without any idea of relocation to those who had moved into housing projects, only to leave them. It covered all the factors which we have discussed: living conditions, personality, purpose, and perceived means. It used a variety of techniques in eliciting the information, such as opinion questions, projective tests, and role-playing. In this way the complex process of life decisions could be approached in a systematic fashion, while keeping the totality of the dramatic events in mind.

The following chapter describes in detail the design and the methods used. The subsequent sections will build up a picture of the relocation process from the key terms of the drama, starting with the scene alone and adding the other aspects of the relevant motives.

## **2. Method of the Study**

### **Design**

Several approaches to the study of reaction to relocation were considered. As described in the previous chapter, some valuable insights were gained through analysis of data from available records, a method in which a great amount of material can be collected at little expense. However, also apparent were the limitations inherent in material originally assembled for different purposes. At the other extreme, participant observation or following-up some households through the whole relocation process, which would have given first-hand impressions, seemed precluded for a variety of technical reasons. Restricting a study to a few households or a particular situation carries the danger of concentrating on some minor problems. What is needed is an inquiry into the whole range of possible influences and an assessment of the approximate importance of each. A system of following-up families is an extensive, long-range enterprise and was precluded for administrative reasons. Thus, a cross-sectional survey was concluded to be the best method available.



A survey compiles data from a representative sample of the population. Consequently, any results may be assessed for their importance among the people who would be involved in the relocation process. By obtaining data in a standardized interview, we can touch on a range of topics and keep them comparable for analysis. A drawback of a survey is that its only data are answers to an interviewer, which may have varying validity for other situations. Another way of stating this problem is to say that we sample only one situation of the respondent, that being his relation to an interviewer. The interviewer, attempting to be a neutral figure, tries to elicit a reaction which is not bound by the particular relation and can be generalized to a variety of situations. It is true, however, that this generalization is an inference which sometimes may be uncomfortable to live with. Another drawback of a cross-sectional survey is that it can give data which extend over time only by retrospect and prospect. A person can tell what he did and how he feels about future actions, but we have no actual information about his changes over a time span.

These two disadvantages of surveys were minimized in the present study. As we could not follow our respondents through a period of time, we built the time dimension into the sample selection. They were chosen from areas where the problem of relocation had different relevance to the residents, and where they had different histories in relation to it. To escape the narrowness of the survey approach, we added several methods to the traditional ones. Role-playing techniques led the respondent to react as if he were in a variety of different situations, and projective tests attempted to get at unexpressed personality dispositions. These considerations determined the over-all design of the study.

## Sample

The households to be interviewed were sampled from six different population groups:

- a. Residents of slum areas, designated as such by the Planning Board, for which no clearance had yet been planned.

*b.* Residents of slum areas where clearance had been started but had not progressed beyond an initial survey (Stage I).

*c.* Residents of slum areas where clearance had been started and where some part had already been razed (Stage II).

*d.* Residents of public housing projects.

*e.* Former residents of slum areas which had been the clearance areas for the housing projects sampled under (*d*) (these were families who preferred a different slum area to a housing project).

*f.* Former residents of the housing projects sampled under (*d*).

We shall sometimes speak of these last two groups as "movers."

Five areas were selected for each of the population groups (*a*)–(*d*). The other two groups were sampled from the files of the same housing projects as were used in (*d*). As far as possible, all the population groups were taken from the same towns, and thus permitted an approximate matching of the populations. Some towns did not have all four types of areas, and ten different towns were used. The three cities with separate housing authorities, San Juan, Mayagüez, and Ponce, were excluded.

From each of the areas fifteen households were selected from group (*a*), ten each from (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*), and five each from (*e*) and (*f*). The final sample therefore consisted of seventy-five households from the slum areas, fifty each from the relocation sites in early and late stages, fifty from the housing projects, and twenty-five from the families who had moved away from the relocation sites and away from the housing projects.

The slum areas and relocation sites were sampled by means of a map of the site. The houses were numbered in sequence and every *n*th house was selected. The relocation sites had extremely accurate maps, from the site surveys, and sampling presented no difficulty. For the slum sites, no such accurate maps existed. Here the area was divided into the smallest identifiable sub-areas. These were then drawn in the same way as indicated above, and the actual houses counted off in a visit to the site. For the housing projects

and the households which had moved out of the relocation sites, lists available at the housing authority were sampled in the same way.

Within each household two respondents were designated for interviewing, the head of the household and another responsible adult, either the wife, or, if no wife was present, the next adult to appear on the family listing. This made it possible to study agreement and influence within the household.

## Collection of Interviews

Putting a sample design into actual practice always uncovers some difficulties. In this case interviewing in some of the slum districts proved to be exceedingly trying, as these districts had apparently been selected for destruction because of their social undesirability. In one area especially, interviewers complained about the dangerous conditions of work. A check with the relocation office on the remaining cases revealed that several of them had criminal records, one of them having been released recently from imprisonment for assault. Another difficulty was that the families who had moved away had left insufficient addresses, sometimes only districts. Those who had left housing projects with arrears in rent had sometimes been very careful to cover their tracks. The interviewers, however, were extremely ingenious, patient, and tenacious, and followed the sample design quite closely.

The success of the interviewers is shown in Table 3. Where the sampling unit was a site, a slum, or a housing project, interviews

**Table 3.** Number of Designated Households and Respondents Interviewed

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		
Complete household interviewed	41	40	43	44	15
One respondent missed in household	27	10	5	4	13
Household missed	7	0	2	2	22
Total households designated	75	50	50	50	50

could be conducted in 214 out of 225 households. Of the families who had moved away, a bare majority, 28 out of 50, could be found. Also, in about one-fifth of the households only one of the designated respondents, usually the wife, could be reached. This is in agreement with the general experience of surveys, that it is more difficult to reach the male respondent. In addition, the interview was quite lengthy and somewhat difficult; it is quite possible that the first respondent discouraged the other family member in some cases. To overcome this difficulty, an attempt was made to have two interviewers conduct the interviews in a household simultaneously, as far as space and other circumstances permitted. Sufficient households with two family members were covered to be useful in comparisons within families. The final sample consisted of 405 respondents, 173 men and 232 women.

## The Interview

The interview schedule gave a picture of all the aspects of the process of change. It included who the people were, their social conditions and their personalities, their present housing, the importance of housing in their lives and their aspirations, their attitudes toward moving into a housing project, and their perceptions of the housing project as the means of achieving their aspirations. These five topics represent the five key terms of the drama analogy: agent, scene, purpose, act, and agency.

While all of these aspects deserve careful investigation, some are relatively easy to ascertain. Thus, the objective housing conditions, the housing needs, and the actual steps taken to move are quite clear-cut. A series of questions, such as are frequently used in questionnaires, was employed in this study. Personality traits and perceptions of life in the housing projects are more elusive. In addition to regular interviewing items, projective measures and role-playing were used for these two aspects.

A sentence-completion test was developed to get at the general life attitude in terms of ambition and optimism, that is, whether the respondent wanted to improve his conditions and whether

he thought it was possible to do so. The individual items were derived from a larger set developed by Dr. Carlos Albizu and Dr. Melvin M. Tumin as part of the Social Stratification Project of the Social Science Research Center. This was a project directed by Dr. Tumin, in which the whole test of twenty-five items had been administered to a representative sample of the Puerto Rican population.<sup>12</sup> The answers of twenty-six respondents were listed. From these answers it became clear that some items gave rather consistent types of answers, and also that some sets of items were interrelated. From this preliminary analysis, nine items designed to elicit reactions showing perception of the social environment (optimism-pessimism) and seven to show individual reaction to the environment (ambition-resignation) were selected.

An optimistic response was defined as one which expressed belief in the future, in the coming generation, in long-range plans and faith in other people. This was given a score of plus one. A response which expressly denied these was counted as negative, and responses which fell out of these categories were scored zero. Examples are:

- For people like me the future . . .
  - will be good. (positive)
  - is just to get the daily bread. (negative)
  - is uncertain. (zero)
- If you always try to be a little better than most . . .
  - everybody will love you. (positive)
  - everybody will call you arrogant. (negative)

Striving responses were those which showed self-confidence, belief in education and personal effort, as opposed to luck or fate. The number of positive responses was scored. Examples are:

- What preoccupies me most . . .
  - is to find work. (positive)
  - fate. (negative)
- When a father tells a son he will have to quit school,  
the son . . .
  - should go on studying anyway. (positive)
  - should respect his father's wishes. (negative)

<sup>12</sup> This study has been reported in M. M. Tumin with A. Feldman, *Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico* (Princeton, 1961).



Another projective test dealt with the standards of judgment about the housing project. It was likely that respondents would have little abstract verbal facility and would have difficulty in expressing their reasons for a general value judgment. In addition, they might be reluctant to make comparisons between slum dwellers and residents of housing projects. Therefore a picture test was devised showing twenty pairs of drawings portraying people in analogous situations. For instance, a group of boys were lounging on the curb in one picture, while they were using a playground in the other drawing. The respondent was presented with two photographs, one of a slum street and one of a housing project. The instructions were to place each sketch on the photograph to which it "belonged." After this matching was completed, the interviewer inquired which of the sketches in the pair represented the better situation, and what had been the reasons for the decision in each case.

The sketches were designed to represent the topics education, health, economic judgment, recreation, and independence. For each of the topics the pairs were arranged to represent different degrees of interest ranging to the point where a higher degree could easily be judged as being unfavorable. For instance, education ranged from a pair which compared a practically illiterate fourteen-year-old with a graduate from school, to another pair where a child who stops studying at a reasonable bedtime is contrasted with one who studies late into the night.

The reasons given for the judgments showed that the respondents looked at the sketches in ways somewhat different from those intended. The test could therefore be analyzed in two ways: first, according to the five topics that were intended, and second, according to the respondents' reported standards of judgment. For the first purpose two pairs from each set were selected. We measured whether the respondent considered "more" of a particular value (more health, more recreation) as better, and as occurring in the housing project. This would indicate to what degree the intention of the pictures had some meaning, notwithstanding the verbalization.

For the second purpose, we used the respondent's own statements as the basis of judgment. We could classify the reasons

given into ten types, the five supposedly represented in the pictures and five additional ones, including housing conditions, economic conditions, type of people, happiness, and home-ownership. The frequency of the mentioning of each topic gave an indication of its importance to the respondent; the topics in which the housing project was deemed worse gave an indication of its relevance for relocation. Finally, the number of pictures in which the housing project was judged to be worse gave an indication of the evaluation of the housing project in general.

Role-playing scenes were used to study personality traits and attitudes toward housing projects. The role-playing situations were short scenes in which the respondent was asked to assume a part in which he could show reactions to unusual conditions, or admit extreme or unpopular attitudes without being forced to identify himself with these opinions.

A trait of the respondent which was of crucial importance in the study was his general disposition to change. Is there a pattern of personal traits affecting disposition to change? Are people who are flexible in one kind of situation also flexible in others? The answers to these questions were extremely important as the study was concerned with the acceptance of one kind of social change.

In the questionnaire part of the interview, direct questions were asked about general belief in change, experiences with change, and opinions related to a modern outlook. The two variables in the sentence-completion test could determine a person's proneness to change. In a role-playing test the respondent could actually show how fast he could accept a new and unheard-of solution to a problem.

The role-playing test was adapted from the Stanton-Litwak battery for interpersonal competence.<sup>13</sup> The test was designed for measuring "creativity," which was defined as the ability to perceive and accept unusual solutions to a problem. One example was a scene in which the interviewer played the role of the respondent's grandfather, who had come to stay with him after a life of hard work.

<sup>13</sup> H. R. Stanton and E. Litwak, "Toward the Development of a Short Test of Interpersonal Competence," *American Sociological Review*, 1955, **20**, 668-674. Cf. H. R. Stanton, K. W. Back, and E. Litwak, "Role-playing in Survey Research," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1956, **62**, 172-176.

The grandfather was restless now and the respondent's task was to make him happy. The interviewer (playing the grandfather), gave hints of what would be the right answer. These became more and more definite in three stages. At first he said that he had worked all his life and could not be happy with enforced leisure. Then he stated that he wanted to do physical work around the house. Finally he insisted on mopping the floor. In each stage the alacrity with which the respondent took up the suggestion was scored from zero to three. For each scene the maximum possible score was nine, and for the whole test, comprising three scenes, the possible scores ranged from zero to twenty-seven.

The high scores in the test could be obtained by persons who quickly accepted each new solution, even if it went to extremes. It might be believed that it would be easy to reach a perfect score, as the respondents were warned beforehand that only the clues given in the scene could lead to the correct solution, and these were clearly given. Many respondents, however, found themselves unable to take the hints, and the total scores were distributed over the whole range. That this represents inability to comply with a new idea, and not lack of understanding, can be seen from the fact that the three scenes proved of varying difficulty. The scene discussed above proved to be the easiest, while the most difficult one was the role of a worker asking for a raise, where the only solution was to criticize the boss severely. The remaining scene in which a boss has to implore a worker to work well fell in between.

The difficulty of criticizing the boss fits well with the somewhat authoritarian social structure in Puerto Rico. When the test was given to a population of similar economic background in Chicago, no difficulty of this kind was encountered. A similar conclusion can be reached by analyzing the different stages of each scene. Each successive stage demanded more extreme behavior and, correspondingly, each successive stage was more difficult with which to comply. The test seems to measure the ability to adopt new patterns of action.

As this kind of personality study is more difficult than the task which is usually demanded of a survey interviewer, it may be questioned whether these scores are not subject to a great number



of biases. Can testing of this kind be accomplished under the less-than-ideal conditions of the house-to-house survey?

In a test of this kind the interviewer has two ways of influencing the results. His own performance in the scene cannot be stereotyped, as he must react to the respondent's role-playing, but it must be equivalent in providing cues and exerting pressure on the different respondents. In addition, the interviewer scored the performance on the spot. Hence both his behavior and his evaluation can influence the total score. The four interviewers were trained carefully in playing the scenes, they observed each other in field situations, and they scored together actual scenes and a number of recordings.

In order to determine the extent of interviewer effect the scores of the interviewers were compared. That the scores for each interviewer were distributed over the whole possible range, shows that each could elicit and recognize all degrees of creative behavior. The mean scores for three of the interviewers were within one point of each other, while the fourth interviewer scored appreciably lower. As this was the only male interviewer, the differences by sex of the respondent were checked; however, no consistent bias was found. The male interviewer and two of the female interviewers gave higher scores to men, while the other interviewer gave the higher scores to women. Even though there remains the possibility of an interviewer bias, these results show sufficient reliability to make the test useful.

Another way to check on reliability was to evaluate the internal consistency of the test. The scores of the separate scenes were correlated; the three correlations were .46, .39, and .37. Another way of obtaining part-scores of the role-playing test was to divide each scene into the three parts. Each of the parts was scored separately, and in this way there were three scores for the test, one for each part of the three scenes. The intercorrelations in this case are .64, .53, and .53. With both methods the correlations are sufficiently high to imply good internal consistency.

The other role-playing scenes were designed to get at the intensity and saliency of the feelings about the housing projects, and to avoid somewhat stereotyped responses to direct questions. Two of the three scenes were designed to show extreme attitudes, good

or bad, toward public housing. These tests helped us to learn what even those people who said that they could not find any good or bad features in public housing projects actually thought was good or bad. We also could find what they themselves considered to be important housing values.

In one of these scenes the respondent was asked to play a relocation worker and to convince the interviewer why she should move into a housing project. This scene was designed to produce arguments that the respondent would consider to be especially effective for him.

In the other scene the interviewer played an agent for a tenants' committee collecting complaints for the next session. Here the respondent could give complaints that he might not admit to be his own.

The third scene dealt with the attitude toward management, as we had thought it probable from previous information that fear of strict management might deter possible applicants. Here the respondent played an administrator visiting an apartment.

## Interviewer Selection and Training

The four interviewers who completed the field work had all had experience with similar surveys at the Social Science Research Center, three as interviewers and one in all phases of data processing. One of the interviewers who assumed supervisory duties had worked on the pretesting and revision of the questionnaire. In spite of this excellent background, the interviewers participated in a one-week training program. This program was modeled after the one which had been conducted for the Family Life Study at the Center.<sup>14</sup> Because of the interviewers' experience, the general discussions could be dispensed with and more emphasis put on the specific devices of the present interview.

In order to assure a standardized procedure, the interviewers were trained as a group. The demonstration of the technique in

<sup>14</sup> R. Hill, J. M. Stycos, and K. W. Back, *The Family and Population Control* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1959), Appendix B, pp. 413-417.

front of the group was followed by a critical discussion. The interviewers then went out in pairs, rotating the pairing, and conducted actual field experiments. They took tape recorders to these practice interviews. The tapes were played back for the whole group and the answers elicited were taken down by everyone on the interview forms. A discussion of the differences revealed discrepancies in understanding of the meaning of the answers and also differences in following up on respondent reactions. In clearing up these doubtful cases, the interviewers were able to standardize their techniques.

## **Field Work and Supervision**

Because of the projective tests and role-playing scenes, the interview usually took one hour and a half. The somewhat unusual features had to be specially introduced. The role-playing was the start of the interview. The interviewer presented it as a game and started out with an easy scene, such as going to a neighbor to borrow sugar or rice. The respondent was invariably successful in such practice runs and the interviewer gave him very high praise. Frequently the performance was compared favorably with a current radio or television drama. After the respondent had thus gained self-confidence, the actual scenes could be played. Refusals on the role-playing scenes were very rare, varying between 7 and 20 on the different scenes, out of 405 interviews. The refusals were almost exclusively due to the respondents' declaring themselves too unfamiliar with the situation, rather than refusing the role-playing as such. The highest number of refusals, 20, was given to the scene of the administrator, the respondents declaring themselves too unfamiliar with the condition. Thus, refusal was really equivalent to an answer of "Don't know" to standard questions.

The role-playing scenes were followed by the sentence-completions, which stayed within the framework of a game. No refusals were given to these questions. Then the questionnaire proper was given. Finally, the interviewer started the picture-matching test. This proved to be the most difficult to administer, and 59 of the 405

respondents did not complete it. This may be due in part to fatigue at the end of the interview; too, lighting was often deficient in the evening interviews, and there was the simple troublesome fact that many respondents had bad vision and no means of buying glasses. Finally, it was difficult for many respondents, especially the older ones and those of very limited education, to understand the task of describing pictures, which can be viewed as a strange and school-like problem. On the other hand, it is likely that the variety in the interviewing techniques was less tedious than would have been a straight interview of equal length.

The interviews were checked for completeness as soon as they were brought in; omissions and discrepancies were pointed out to the interviewers and could be corrected on a return visit. The constant checking was also effective in improving the quality of the survey during its conduction. For instance, it was found that one interviewer accepted easy "no-answers" on the role-playing scenes, and therefore showed the highest refusal rate on the scenes. He was instructed to be more insistent and later obtained more answers.

The variety of aspects of the relocation process needed a variety of approaches, from the scenic conditions of present housing and economic circumstances to the personality of the agent and his perception of possible changes. However, it was possible to integrate a series of different methods into a sample survey and to execute this design according to plan.

### 3. Living Conditions

By the nature of the problem the survey concentrated on the urban residents at the lowest economic level in Puerto Rico. The six population classifications described in the preceding chapter were so designed that the sample drawn is representative of this group.

Three of the groups listed on pages 15-16 lived in slums and as yet had had no experience with moving for relocation. We shall call them collectively the slum sample, but distinguish them by calling the first group (*a*) the *general slum* sample, as it was taken to represent the slums in general. The two others, (*b*) and (*c*), were taken to represent different stages in the relocation process and will be called *Stage I* and *Stage II* samples respectively. The fourth group, (*d*), represented *project tenants*. The last two groups represented *movers*, (*e*) the *movers from slums* and (*f*) the *movers from housing projects*.

In examining the living conditions of households in the sample, we shall consider the answers from only one respondent in each family; this should be the head of the household.

## Family Composition

Let us divide the households into four types:<sup>15</sup> standard, which includes a couple with children under eighteen years; broken, which includes only one member of the pair, with children; adult, with no member of the family less than eighteen years old; and old-age, with no member of the family less than sixty-five years old. In the general slum sample, more than three-quarters of the households are standard households, the remaining ones being divided between broken and adult families at a ratio of about two-to-one. There were no old-age families in the general slum sample.

**Table 4.** Family Composition of Households in Different Sites

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Projects
<b>FAMILY TYPE</b>						
Standard	75	48	56	63	50	81
Broken	18	20	23	31	25	13
Adult	7	28	19	6	25	6
Old-age	—	4	2	—	—	—
<b>MEDIAN NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD</b>						
Total	5.3	4.5	5.2	5.4	3.8	6.2
Adults	2.3	2.2	2.6	2.2	2.6	2.6
Children	2.8	2.0	2.2	3.0	1.3	3.0
<b>AGE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD</b>	42.1	42.8	44.6	39.0	47.9	38.8
<b>PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH ADDITIONAL ADULTS PRESENT</b>	26	24	28	18	25	25
<b>NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS</b>	69	50	48	40	12	16

The households selected from the relocation sites include fewer standard families than those in the general slum sample. Of particular interest is the low proportion of these families in the Stage I sample. This exposes the possibility that the selection of

<sup>15</sup> This classification is taken from the studies of the Baltimore Housing Authority. Cf. *Types of Families Living in Baltimore's Low-Rent Projects, 1951-55* (Research and Statistics Division, 1956).



sites for clearance leads to selection of particular types of households. In these locations we find a particularly large number of adult households. This may result from the fact that slum clearance is based on a master plan of long standing and therefore would reach first the old settled slums where people have lived for a long time and whose children may be grown.

On the other hand, the adult families rarely move into the housing projects. However, compared with the other groups, housing projects have the largest proportion of broken families. This is the family type which is usually most in need of help and which may be likely to accept government aid.

The size of the household shows a similar relationship between the sample groups. The households in the Stage I sites are considerably smaller than those in the slum districts. Of the other groups, only the two small samples of the households who had left the relocation sites or the housing projects are different, but in opposite directions. Households that had left the relocation sites are generally smaller, while those that had left the housing projects are larger.

If we consider separately the numbers of adults and of children in the households, a clearer picture emerges. The smaller household size in the Stage I families is almost wholly accounted for by the smaller number of children, especially by households without any children. In the Stage II households we have a larger number of adults, balanced by a small number of children. This is the type of household staying at the site as long as possible. The households who moved out of the relocation site and presumably stayed there as long as they could have correspondingly a large number of adults and the smallest number of children. The presence of many adults in a family seems to lead to rejection of relocation, while the presence of many children leads to its acceptance. This interpretation corresponds to the one derived from the study of records, discussed in Chapter I.

In contrast, the families in the housing projects have few adults and many children. The families who have moved out include just as many children, but also many adults. It is possible that the pressure of family size leads to leaving the housing project.

Two other family characteristics, which may be related to the

ones discussed here, were found to be predictive of acceptance of the move to the housing project. These were age of the head of the household and the presence of adults other than members of the nuclear family. In the housing projects the household heads are younger and hardly any "extra" adults are present. The closer we approach rejection of relocation in the slum groups, the older we find the head of the household, leading in the extreme to the movers from the slums. There is no pattern in the presence of additional adults within the slum samples, but in all such groups there are more of them than in the housing projects.

To summarize, we find that all the other samples differ markedly in their family characteristics from the basic slum sample. In the sites selected for clearance (Stage I), the families are somewhat older, there are fewer children, and many families have no children under eighteen living with them. Hence they are somewhat

**Table 5.** Socio-economic Status of Families in Different Sites

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Projects
MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME	\$1357	\$1312	\$1675	\$776	\$1207	\$1460
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF HEAD						
Regular ■ full-time	68	68	58	54	58	81
Irregular and/or part-time	17	14	19	27	25	13
Unemployed	15	18	23	19	17	5
HOUSEHOLDS WITH MORE THAN 1 INCOME RECEIVER	56	64	58	39	67	50
HOUSEHOLDS WITH NON-WORK INCOME	42	52	48	52	58	19
EDUCATION OF HEAD (Mean grade)	2.76	3.64	3.46	3.42	3.66	3.50
OCCUPATION OF HEAD						
Semiprofessional, managerial, clerical	1	20	8	4	25	25
Skilled & semiskilled	43	30	46	29	33	50
Stand owners, lottery salesmen (marginal)	17	10	10	8	—	19
Service, laborers	25	22	13	40	25	—
Unemployed	14	18	23	19	17	6
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	69	50	48	48	12	16



smaller households. The households remaining until the last possible moment, (Stage II), are those with many adults and are therefore larger, on the average. This type of household composition, with many adults and very few children, is even more marked in those families who had moved away from the site. Also the household heads are somewhat older. As these households resisted relocation, the families who did move into housing projects have the opposite characteristics: few adults, even broken families with only one responsible adult, many children, and young household heads. The principal distinction of the families who had moved out of the housing projects was that they included more adults, and, correspondingly, more standard families. Whether this means that the large family size acted as a pressure toward moving out of the project or that standard families were less dependent on the social services within a government project is an open question at the present point.

### **Socio-economic Status**

The general economic condition of the household is best measured by the family income. A detailed inquiry was made in each interview to determine the total income, including income of all family members, non-work sources such as relief, and length of employment during the past year. The differences in income show the effect of individual selection of project residents. While the average income in the slums and in the sites selected for razing is approximately the same, the families in the housing projects represent the lower income group of the slum residents, with a difference in median income of close to \$700. The households which are remaining in the Stage II sites in general have a higher income. Part of this difference is due to the income limitation in housing projects. However, most of the respondents in all groups would have been eligible under these income qualifications.

The employment status of the main breadwinner gives a similar

picture for the housing project. He is less likely to be working for the whole year, and full-time, than the breadwinner in the slum household. On the other hand, in the light of the high income in the Stage II households, it is surprising to note that a small proportion has regular, full-time employment and that this group has the largest proportion of unemployed. The interviewers in these areas mentioned a great amount of extralegal activity. It is possible that some of this is reflected in the income figures but that reporting of the activity itself was evaded by the respondents.

If the head of the household does not have a regular income, work by other members of the family may compensate for it. Again, the families in the housing projects are dependent mostly on a single income. This corresponds to the fact that there are comparatively few adults and many households with a large number of small children in the projects. In contrast, the Stage I sites, with a high proportion of adult families, also have a high proportion of families with more than one recipient of income.

Non-work income is quite common in all the population groups. This income is practically all relief, social security, and similar government aid. Only about half of all the households live without any income of this kind. The families in the housing projects are slightly more dependent on this help than the slum dwellers. However, this difference does not seem to be decisive for the move into the project.

Besides the amount of income, the way in which it is earned, the occupation, is indicative of a household's social position. Related to this is the educational level. The latter is approximately the same in all the samples, with a mean educational achievement of about the third grade for the head of the household. The only exception is a somewhat lower attainment in the general slum households.

Although the educational limitations for occupational choice are about the same in all groups, the actual occupations are quite different. The families in the housing projects depend to a large degree on earnings from jobs at the lowest step of the occupational scale, laboring and service jobs. The slum districts, which may be held to represent the general pattern in this population group,

show a high proportion of skilled and semiskilled occupations. In addition, one in six households participates in marginal occupations which are characteristic of traditional Puerto Rico, and include peddling, selling lottery tickets, or owning a small store or cafetín. On the other hand, the Stage I households include the largest proportion of white-collar jobs (20 per cent).

In summing up the socio-economic status of the households, we find that in general they live under rather depressed conditions. There are, however, differences among the groups, and the families in the housing projects are the most hard-pressed financially. They have lower incomes and their chances for improvement are poor, as they occupy low-paying positions with sporadic work and are supported mainly by one member in the family. Among the other groups, there is some evidence that the sites selected include families with more education and higher-prestige occupations. The families who as yet had not moved to the project (Stage II) show a curious combination of lack of employment and high income, and it is suggested that this income derives from non-legal sources. In addition, they include the greatest proportion of skilled and semiskilled workers; they are households who cannot or do not want to accept any government-sponsored program.

**Table 6.** Housing Conditions of Families

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Projects
Not dilapidated	55	48	54	100	92	62
Paved roads	45	58	62	100	83	58
Individual kitchen	87	92	79	100	92	87
Running water	49	72	62	100	75	69
Sewerage	7	54	12	98	58	50
Electricity	74	92	90	100	83	88
More than 1 bedroom	55	60	75	85	83	75
Room ratio (mean rooms per person)	1.08	1.25	1.18	1.20	1.42	.92
Less than 1 bed per person or couple	75	48	56	65	25	75
Ownership of refrigerator	22	38	56	27	67	38
Ownership of radio	70	84	83	77	92	81
Ownership of television	16	16	29	17	17	38
Number of households	69	50	42	48	12	16

## Housing Conditions

In discussing the situation of the households in the sample, we have concentrated up to now on the human scene, the family conditions, and the social position. We shall now define the physical difference in living conditions and show what the change in physical scene means objectively.

As the housing projects are built according to standard patterns, the adequacy of some features of housing is universal in the project families. Thus, none of their homes has major indications of dilapidation, they all are accessible by paved streets, and they all have individual kitchens, running water, sewerage, and electricity. The other households lack these basic features of adequate housing to a great extent. In the general slum sample, almost half of the houses are dilapidated and less than half are accessible by paved streets, one in seven having no street at all. Most, but not all, of the households have an individual kitchen, but more than a third obtain their water from a public fountain, more than 90 per cent have latrines, and only about three-quarters have electricity. The sites selected for slum clearance had somewhat better conditions, especially in sanitary features. We see here again that these sites were those where some improvement had been taking place.

It is interesting to compare the small samples of the families who had left the relocation sites with those in the housing projects. The living conditions of both groups are better than those of the households in the three types of slum sites. While the families who moved out of housing projects reverted more to slum conditions, the families who moved out of the relocation sites obtained housing close to that existing in the projects, especially as far as the outside environment, dilapidation, and streets are concerned.

In spite of this great difference in facilities, the families in the housing projects do not have such superior housing conditions as might be expected. The apartments in the projects are larger than those in slum housing, but they are not any less crowded as determined by the number of persons per room. In fact, we find again the same selection process; the Stage I places are larger than the slum places, and the Stage II places are even larger. The families

who had moved out of the relocation sites live under least crowded conditions, while those who moved out of the housing projects suffer most from crowding. The provision of a bed per person or per couple is another and even stronger indication of the degree of crowding. Here again we find a slight superiority of the families in the housing projects over the general slum sample, but the relocation sites more than make up for the differences.

Going from the basic features to conveniences, let us look at the ownership of appliances. In spite of the fact that all project apartments, but not all the slum places, have electricity, the project households in general have fewer refrigerators, radios, and television sets, especially as compared to the relocation sites. Apparently, their economic situation hinders them in taking advantage of their favorable housing conditions. Similar effects have been found in studies in England. Frequently residents of housing projects may be either unable to benefit as much as could be expected or, in some cases, show actual detriment as a result of the dent in their minimal budget by even a modest, but steady, rent.<sup>16</sup>

We can show directly the effect of the housing projects on living conditions by comparing income and housing conditions of slum dwellers, project residents, and movers. In the latter two groups (see Table 7) we have to use fewer income groupings be-

**Table 7.** Relation of Income to Housing Conditions in Different Sites

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

INCOME:	SLUMS				HOUSING PROJECTS			MOVERS	
	Under \$1000	\$1000 to \$1500	\$1500 to \$2000	Over \$2000	Under \$1000	\$1000 to \$1500	Over \$1500	Under \$1500	Over \$1500
Not dilapidated	34	56	52	81	100	100	100	67	100
Running water	43	70	65	84	100	100	100	50	89
Sewerage	14	23	17	41	97	100	100	67	78
Electricity	79	85	91	94	100	100	100	83	100
More than 1 bedroom	43	67	65	87	84	75	100	67	89
Room ratio (mean)	1.13	1.02	1.19	1.30	1.23	1.25	1.07	1.19	1.22
Less than 1 bed per person or couple	55	81	70	47	62	75	78	42	67
Number of households	56	27	23	32	32	4	9	12	9

<sup>16</sup> J. M. Mackintosh, *Housing and Family Life* (London, 1952), pp. 203-207.



cause there are not enough households in some of the categories. However, we have a sufficiently detailed breakdown to demonstrate that in the slum households such features as lack of dilapidation, running water, electricity, and sewerage and the number of bedrooms are closely related to family income; there is no such relationship in the housing projects.

Life in the housing project, in this respect, has the effect of equalizing the impact of income difference. On the other hand, in the indices of crowding, there is less relation to income in the slum households except in the highest income group, while the project households show an irregular relationship. Neither residence in a project nor income seems to be a relevant factor in crowding, whereas they are related to the prevalence of the basic housing facilities.

**Table 8.** Tenure and Housing Cost in Different Sites

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Projects
TENURE						
Owner	72	54	80	—	83	63
Renter	28	46	20	100	17	37
MONTHLY RENT PAID (Renters only)						
\$4 or less	21	18	—	—	■	—
\$4 to \$10	36	23	67	58	■	60
Over \$10	43	59	33	42	■	40
PERCENT OF INCOME USED FOR HOUSING						
Owners (median)	4.7	11.25	5.0	—	5.0	4.3
Renters (median)	18.3	16.25	15.0	20.5	—	20.8
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS						
	69	50	42	48	12	16

■ Only 2 cases.

## Housing and Tenure Expenditures

As a part of the picture of housing conditions, cost is important. Cost differs greatly, of course, depending on whether the place is owned or rented. In the slum areas, five out of seven families

own their places. The sites selected for clearance have a somewhat larger proportion of renters, but they are still a minority, while practically all the households which stay longest (Stage II) are owners. Correspondingly, ten of the twelve families who moved away from the relocation sites own their homes. Housing projects, of course, contain nothing but renters.

Being a renter entails a regular expense which, under the slum conditions, the home-owners do not have to meet. Even among the renters, a sizable proportion of the slum dwellers pay only nominal rent, which is under \$4.00 a month. This is less than the minimum rent in the projects. At the other extreme, a greater proportion of the slum dwellers pay higher rents than those renters in the housing projects. The variation in rents in the slums is probably more arbitrary and can hit a small group quite severely. The rent in the housing projects is calculated to be appropriate, but may become a burden on everyone.

Another way of looking at the incidence of housing cost is to take it as a proportion of total family income. Here we shall consider rent plus utilities as net gross rent, and use the same figure for the corresponding owners. We see that while the great majority of the owners spend less than 10 per cent of their income for housing, the renters in the slums mainly pay between 10 per cent and 20 per cent, whereas the majority of the tenants of the housing projects pay more than 20 per cent. Comments by the respondents showed that the utility costs in the slums are kept low by tapping power lines, a practice which is impossible in the projects. For this and other reasons, the tenants in projects have to be prepared to have a relatively greater amount of cash ready every month than is usual under their social conditions.

We have seen before, in the study of records, that tenure is an important factor in the reaction to future relocation. Also, families who spend a great proportion of their income on housing were more ready to move into the housing projects. We see now that in the projects the expenditure for housing stays high, and we shall see that this factor is a real objection to living in them. Not only do the families object to spending such an amount, but the whole idea of having to have that much cash available every month implies a great change in the way of living.

## Summary

Running through the whole comparison between residents of slums and residents of project housing, we find two major differences between the two groups. The tenants of housing projects are economically more vulnerable, but they also have more at stake in the future. The former is shown by the difference in income and also by such indirect measures as the incidence of broken families. The latter is evidenced by the large number of children and the general youthfulness of the members of the households. These two traits are rather contradictory, and therefore lead us to suspect that there may be two different types of people who move to the projects: one who need the government support, and one who use the improvement in housing conditions as a path to social advancement.

The influence of life in general in a housing project can also be summarized in a different way. In the slums, housing conditions depend in great part on economic conditions, while in housing projects this relation does not hold. Everybody there lives in a well-kept concrete building and has piped water and other accommodations. Even other features, such as space, which are not comparable in all apartments, show less relation to income than is true in the slums. Further, people with lower incomes in housing projects have conditions equivalent to those of people with higher incomes outside. It is clear that this advantage will appeal especially to families who have little hope of improving their economic standards. It will also be attractive to those who want to use what income they have for a rapid change in their general way of life.



## **4. Housing Aspirations**

We have seen in the last chapter that the tenants of housing projects are in worse condition economically than families living in slums, but in spite of this, tenants have better housing conditions. Objectively, then, better environment is provided for them and they can acquire a home for themselves at least as good as those of their more prosperous neighbors who are not living in housing projects. This is the scenic change which housing programs try to achieve. How far does this change fit in with the purposes of the people, how important is housing to them, and what kind of housing do they prefer? Answers to these questions will show how much the change in physical conditions agrees with the housing ideals of the people for whom the projects are designed.

### **Features, Location, and Furniture**

Two questions on the general importance of housing conditions were asked of the respondent. One question was simply: "Is it

important for you to buy a house?" Practically all the respondents, 391 of 405, answered yes. A certain measure of the degree of importance is introduced if the respondent has to make a choice. For this the following question was asked: "If you were to win in the lottery, what would you buy first?" Four of five people chose a house. This proportion was highest among the persons who either were living in a housing project or had lived in one. This may indicate that interest in housing conditions, while great among all the groups, is greatest among these persons. As regards the kind of house which they would buy, there is considerable agreement on some features. The ideal house would be a concrete building. There would be a separate house for each family with at least three bedrooms, a separate kitchen, and a paved street leading to the house. In answer to a direct question as to whether these features are wanted, there is so much agreement that there is no difference between population groups.

We now turn to the different preferences of the residents of slums and of housing projects (Table 9). Later, we shall deal with the influence of other factors and with the special group, the movers.

First, let us consider the items which came spontaneously to the respondents' minds. They were asked: "If you won the lottery and could buy the ideal dwelling, how would you like it to be?" The four features which were mentioned most often were general comfort, sanitary services, concrete construction, and three or more bedrooms. There is some difference, however, between the two groups. The project tenants suggested far fewer features which they would like than did the slum dwellers. Comfort is the only major feature which both groups mention to the same extent.

Two questions were asked about the desired location of the house. One was open-ended: "What would you like the site to be like?" The other was a checklist of important features in location: nearness to work, to schools, to present neighbors, and to familiar tradesmen. Again the tenants in housing projects listed fewer traits in the open-ended question, although the rank order of importance of the features is almost the same for both groups. The four most important features mentioned by both groups are quiet (no bars or jukeboxes, etc.), good neighbors, comfort in general, and sanitary conditions.

**Table 9.** Housing Aspirations in Different Sites

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS	PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS
<b>IF YOU WERE TO WIN THE LOTTERY AND COULD BUY THE IDEAL HOUSE, WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE?</b>			
"Convenience"	41	42	46
Concrete building	39	34	44
Sanitary services	45	32	33
Living room	29	21	18
Dining room	25	14	21
Three or more bedrooms	43	26	41
Kitchen	31	25	13
Water and light	14	14	15
Large yard	24	8	18
Farmland	6	11	11
Extras (porch, garage, blinds, etc.)	20	15	11
Other	28	26	26
<b>WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE THE SITE TO BE LIKE?</b>			
"Convenient"	27	31	23
Good neighbors	53	35	56
Quiet, no bars or jukeboxes	57	38	87
Healthy	19	29	21
Clean	12	18	11
Close to schools, doctors, etc.	16	11	13
Close to stores, movies	13	10	10
Utilities connected	21	12	13
Outside of town (farm use)	18	18	10
Yard space	14	16	10
No vice	30	28	31
Other	34	28	36
<b>IF YOU WERE TO MOVE, WHAT WOULD YOU THINK TO BE IMPORTANT? (Checklist)</b>			
Closeness to work	88	69	92
Schooling facilities	87	84	90
Closeness to present neighbors	49	32	69
Known stores	79	43	87
<b>WHAT FURNITURE WOULD YOU LIKE TO BUY?</b>			
None	34	34	46
Some	66	66	54
Dining room sets	35	26	23
Living room sets	56	32	31
Bedroom sets	8	6	2
Kitchen sets	7	3	5
Chairs and couches	5	3	8
Closets	10	3	8
Beds	20	11	10
Other furniture	21	26	10
TV	25	9	18
Refrigerators	27	23	21
Other electrical equipment	8	8	13
<b>NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS</b>	286	80	39

The checklist brought out features which might not come to mind immediately but upon consideration are acknowledged to be important. An overwhelming proportion of the slum dwellers found all these features important. However, closeness to present neighbors was listed somewhat beneath the rest. The tenants of the housing projects agree only on the importance of schools, the other items showing much less agreement between the population groups. Only one-third of the tenants in the housing projects feel that closeness to present neighbors is an important consideration.

Upon closer investigation, the initial statement concerning the high importance of housing to all the respondents does not hold up. The residents of housing projects are less concerned with any specific problem and seem to have much vaguer aspirations than do the slum dwellers. Residents of housing projects may be people of two sorts. There are those with no definite aspirations, even while they were living in the slums, and those who have no particular needs and are relatively satisfied with their present situation. This distinction corresponds to the two motives distinguished in the preceding chapter.

Turning from the essential housing conditions to the question of furniture, we find a similar condition. In response to a question as to whether they would like to buy furniture at all, residents of housing projects are less likely to say yes. If they want to buy furniture, they are likely to mention fewer items. In general, the preferred items are living room and dining room sets, refrigerators, and television sets. Among the tenants of the projects, beds rank as high as television. This is perhaps, like the interest in proximity of schools, an indication of their concern for their children.

## **Status and Preference**

We shall now turn, first to the question of whether differences in individual status influence housing preferences, and then to the question of how far housing preferences are affected by actual living conditions (Table 10).

**Table 10.** Sex, Age, Occupation, and Condition of House in Housing Aspiration (Slum Dwellers Only)

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SEX		AGE			OCCUPATION					HOUSING	
	M	F	1 to 35	36 to 55	56 Up	A	B	C	D	E	X	Y
<b>IF YOU WERE TO WIN THE LOTTERY AND COULD BUY THE IDEAL HOUSE, WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE?</b>												
"Convenience"	46	36	41	38	44	29	38	48	33	53	41	40
Concrete building	42	36	36	41	41	46	34	40	53	29	37	41
Sanitary services	42	48	51	47	30	79	47	40	39	33	46	44
Living room	26	32	33	27	28	43	29	30	26	27	34	24
Dining room	22	27	28	23	20	39	24	25	21	22	29	18
3 or more bedrooms	41	44	45	44	35	61	45	40	44	29	48	37
Kitchen	22	38	36	27	30	50	25	25	28	33	34	27
Water and light	10	17	15	12	17	7	19	8	14	12	10	19
Large yard	21	27	28	26	11	18	30	10	21	29	21	28
Farmland	10	4	4	6	11	4	5	10	5	8	6	7
Extras	17	22	20	22	13	29	21	15	18	16	22	17
Other	26	29	30	23	33	25	27	33	21	37	27	29
<b>WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE THE SITE TO BE LIKE?</b>												
"Convenient"	28	26	30	25	24	29	26	28	21	35	26	28
Good neighbors	49	56	54	52	52	50	50	65	53	51	52	54
Quiet (no bars)	58	56	55	58	61	71	52	53	70	51	61	64
Healthy	22	16	18	22	15	11	21	10	19	24	15	23
Clean	11	12	14	11	9	25	10	5	9	18	10	14
Close to schools, etc.	22	12	20	17	7	25	21	15	11	10	20	12
Close to stores, movies	14	12	12	16	9	18	10	20	11	16	17	9
Utilities connected	22	20	28	18	11	14	23	15	23	20	18	24
Outside of town (farm)	17	19	13	22	18	14	19	15	18	22	17	19
Yard space	11	16	17	14	7	25	14	10	16	8	13	15
No vice	30	30	30	27	33	14	30	37	32	29	29	31
Other	34	34	38	28	37	25	40	28	37	24	30	37
<b>IF YOU WOULD MOVE, WHAT WOULD YOU THINK TO BE IMPORTANT? (Checklist)</b>												
Closeness to work	87	89	87	92	83	89	92	95	95	95	89	87
Schooling facilities	87	88	91	90	74	82	91	95	84	80	89	85
Closeness to present neighbors	54	46	46	51	52	39	50	48	60	43	53	45
Known stores	82	76	78	83	70	79	75	93	82	71	82	75
<b>WHAT FURNITURE WOULD YOU LIKE TO BUY?</b>												
None	40	29	28	38	35	50	26	53	28	33	45	21
Some	60	71	72	62	65	50	74	47	72	67	55	79
Dining room sets	40	31	37	40	17	36	34	47	41	18	31	38
Living room sets	60	52	46	64	60	36	35	74	78	48	43	68

(Table 10. Continued)

	SEX		AGE			OCCUPATION					HOUSING	
	M	F	1 to 35	36 to 55	56 Up	A	B	C	D	E	X	Y
Bedroom sets	8	9	11	11	3	11	8	11	10	6	5	12
Kitchen sets	9	5	6	11	—	—	8	11	5	6	6	8
Chairs or couches	3	6	2	4	11	—	5	—	2	12	5	5
Closets	7	12	12	5	14	8	11	—	12	12	16	5
Beds	13	20	19	16	17	8	22	16	12	18	21	15
Other furniture	16	23	19	19	29	28	20	16	22	18	24	18
TV	24	26	32	24	14	28	30	11	22	24	31	21
Refrigerator	21	28	26	19	37	42	27	21	17	27	33	20
Other elec. eqt.	13	12	14	11	11	28	10	16	10	15	12	14
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	125	161	112	120	54	28	112	40	57	49	155	131

## KEY TO HEADINGS:

Occupation A—Semiprofessional, etc.

Occupation B—Skilled ■ semiskilled.

Occupation C—Marginal.

Occupation D—Service ■ Labor.

Occupation E—Unemployed.

Housing X—Not dilapidated.

Housing Y—Dilapidated.

In comparing the housing aspirations of men and women, older and younger people, and people of different economic positions, we find that consistent differences occur only among the slum dwellers. The improved situation in the housing projects seems to equalize feelings about housing. People are largely satisfied with their housing conditions, and differences which depend on varying experiences are obliterated. The people who moved out of projects form too small a group to allow definite conclusions to be drawn from comparisons within the group. However, it seems that they, too, have had distinct experiences with housing which determine the attitudes of the whole group and obscure any distinctions within the group. Therefore, the following discussion will center mainly on the slum groups.

Comparing the answers of men and women, we find that the women are more interested in the condition of the home itself, while men are more concerned with its contact with the outside world. Thus a larger proportion of women than of men stress the need for a kitchen and other specific rooms, are more dissatisfied with their present number of rooms, and want larger places. They are more likely to want to buy furniture and when they do express



such desires, they want to buy more different items. Men, on the other hand, are more interested in the building material for the house and in the streets leading to it (Table 11). Women find paved streets less necessary if they do not have them at present, while there is no such difference among the men. Men want to live in a neighborhood where they know the merchants and the people around them. To put it another way, men and women can accept different aspects of slum housing conditions.

**Table 11.** Sex of Respondent, Interest in Space in the House and Exterior Conditions (Slum Residents Only)

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	MEN	WOMEN
HOW DO YOU LIKE THE NUMBER OF BEDROOMS IN YOUR HOME?		
<i>Very much</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>Fairly well</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>Not very well</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>39</i>
DO YOU THINK THAT THE CONDITION OF THE STREETS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD IS IMPORTANT?		
<i>Yes</i>	<i>86</i>	<i>73</i>
<i>No</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>27</i>
WHAT KINDS OF STREETS WOULD YOU LIKE TO HAVE?		
<i>Concrete paved</i>	<i>93</i>	<i>82</i>
<i>Other</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>18</i>
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	125	161

Two other traits distinguish people who are dissatisfied with present conditions and who have greater aspirations for housing in general. These are (1) age and (2) occupation of the breadwinner. In answer to the question, "What would you like in a place to live?" younger people spontaneously express a desire for more rooms and for more sanitary facilities. They also mention more about specific kinds of rooms, such as living rooms, dining rooms, and kitchens.

Older people mentioned slightly more the desire for land for raising crops and keeping animals, showing the more rural affiliation of the older generation. There is less of a difference between age groups in spontaneous descriptions of the site than in the description of the house itself. The only consistent trends are toward



more interest in proximity to schools on the part of the younger respondents, and more attachment to their present neighbors by the older ones.

On probing about specific features, the differences become more pronounced. On direct questions about satisfaction with the number of rooms, type of building, preferences as to apartment size, and surrounding streets, the younger people are invariably more dissatisfied with present conditions and have higher aspirations than older ones. Moreover, they want to equip their homes better, to buy more furniture and appliances.

**Table 12.** Age, Occupation, and Reasons for Housing Aspiration (Slum Residents Only)

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	AGE			OCCUPATION				
	Under 35	35 to 54	55 and Over	Semi- profes- sional	Skilled, Semi- skilled	Mar- ginal	Service & Labor	Unem- ployed
<b>WHY WOULD YOU LIKE THESE THINGS IN YOUR IDEAL HOUSE?</b>								
Convenience or necessity	54	52	52	61	58	35	53	53
Health	10	9	4	18	9	3	9	6
Safety	4	4	9	7	4	5	5	8
Quiet	4	12	15	—	11	10	11	14
Live proudly, self-improvement	19	17	13	7	16	30	18	12
For children	10	3	—	11	4	8	7	2
Other	7	6	15	4	7	13	9	8
<b>WHY DO YOU WANT A SEPARATE KITCHEN?</b>								
Convenience	28	35	37	30	20	50	75	50
Hygiene	19	21	15	50	20	33	—	25
Pretty, better living	20	12	7	30	27	33	—	25
For company	10	7	9	30	13	17	—	—
Safety	12	16	11	30	47	33	25	50
Cleanliness	19	18	24	10	40	17	25	—
Other	8	4	6	10	20	—	—	—
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	112	120	54	28	112	40	37	49

Age is important, not only for the level of aspiration, but also for the reasons behind this level (Table 12). Younger people are more likely to say that they want a particular type of home in order to live respectably or to better themselves; older people cite quiet and happiness. To take a specific feature, younger people say that

they want a separate kitchen because it looks better or because one lives better that way. Older people say that it is more convenient. Younger people are thus more likely to use housing conditions for the improvement of social position, while older people evaluate housing according to their immediate needs.

The reasons for these differences of housing ideals also distinguish persons from households of different occupational levels. Occupations can be graded roughly according to the degree to which they conform to the social change which is occurring in Puerto Rico. This division is a modification of the standard division of occupational status.

The high status jobs, with some exceptions (noted below), are the usual grouping of professional, semiprofessional, managerial, sales, and clerical. They are combined here because of their low incidence in our population. Next come the jobs adapted to the industrialization of the country—skilled and semiskilled occupations. These are presumably the two forward-looking occupational groups. The traditional groups are of two kinds. One consists of occupations which, by usual classification, would be considered as managerial or sales. But under Puerto Rican conditions they are actually marginal occupations. These are the owners of roadside stands, small groceries and bars, and lottery salesmen. The other group consists of the usual service workers and laborers. Finally, we have the unemployed.

In the division of our respondents by occupational status, we find a difference in salience of the needs and in the statement of the need, if asked. In the open-end question on desires for features in a home, we find great differences between respondents from households of different occupational status. Interest in facilities, number and different kinds of rooms, is much higher in the white-collar and industrial-minded households than in the households following the traditional occupations. Over all, the former households list more specific features. In the answers to the specific questions, the respondents divided on the need for more bedrooms and on concrete buildings, but there was little difference on such questions as streets and the purchase of furniture. Neither do we find consistent differences in the reasons which people offer in support of their expressed desires.

The differences by age and occupation may reflect a difference between disposition and opportunity. Because of the rapid change and improvement of economic conditions, the younger people can have a different outlook on life and on their living conditions. Those people who follow occupations which are most in accord with the economic development can afford to think more about future housing plans and are therefore ready to volunteer more features of desired housing. Basically, however, the reasons for these desires are more a function of individual than of economic conditions.

### **Actual and Ideal Housing Conditions**

Besides disposition and opportunity, the need for improvement may be an important factor in housing aspirations. Needs can be defined objectively by the present housing conditions. Let us first consider a general indicator of inferior housing conditions, namely, the presence of major deficiencies. Here again we can talk only about the slum dweller, as there were no deficiencies of this kind in the housing projects.

Deficient housing tends to make people more concerned with housing, but also tends to restrict their outlook. Thus we have the apparent paradox that the residents of the better slum dwellings are more conservative about changes, but also have higher aspirations. In fact, they seem to be better adjusted to slum living and think of improvements within this framework. So the residents of non-deficient houses put more stress on living in a place with familiar neighbors and known storekeepers. They cite general considerations of comfort as the reasons for their housing preferences. This is in contrast to people in deficient housing, who give such reasons as bettering oneself and living respectably. (Table 13).

In the spontaneous answers, people in deficient housing place more stress on environmental and basic features such as water, light, yard, and concrete construction. People in non-deficient housing mention number and kinds of rooms. The same kind of difference is manifested in the answers to the direct questions. The residents

of non-deficient houses are dissatisfied and want more rooms (Table 13). The residents of deficient houses are more concerned about the type of building material. Greater concern for housing conditions is also shown by the fact that residents of deficient housing are more likely to want to buy furniture. However, residents of deficient housing are inclined toward the purchase of basic furnishings, bedroom and living room sets. At the same time, the residents of non-deficient housing want to buy appliances, such as refrigerators and television sets.

Another indication of housing conditions is crowding, as measured by the person-to-room ratio. The people in the crowded places mention more often the basic features such as light, water,

**Table 13.** Living Conditions and Housing Aspirations (Slum Residents Only)

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	HOUSING	
	Not Dilapidated	Dilapidated
<b>HOW DO YOU LIKE THE NUMBER OF BEDROOMS?</b>		
Very much	43	24
Fairly well	30	23
Not very well	27	53
<b>HOW MANY BEDROOMS WOULD YOU LIKE TO HAVE?</b>		
One	1	5
Two	17	21
Three	43	44
Four	31	20
Five or more	8	5
<b>HOW DO YOU LIKE THE MATERIAL IN YOUR HOUSE?</b>		
Very much	43	28
Fairly well	39	34
Not very well	18	38
<b>WHY WOULD YOU LIKE THESE THINGS IN YOUR IDEAL HOUSE?</b>		
Convenience and necessity	59	47
Health	6	11
Safety	6	5
Quiet	8	12
Live respectably, self-improvement	12	23
Children	5	6
Other	8	8
<b>NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS</b>	155	131

kitchen, and the number of bedrooms. They are less concerned with the type of building or extra features. Here we have comparative groups within the housing projects (Table 14). It is surprising that those people in crowded conditions are less likely to demand kitchens and sanitary facilities.

The feature on which the slum group and the project residents agree is the one most directly connected with crowding, the number of bedrooms. In both groups, the people who are more crowded

**Table 14.** Rooms per Person and Housing Aspirations in Different Sites

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM RESIDENTS			PROJECT TENANTS			MOVERS		
ROOMS PER PERSON:	1.25 or more	.75 to 1.24	.74 or less	1.25 or more	.75 to 1.24	.74 or less	1.25 or more	.75 to 1.24	.74 or less
<b>IF YOU WERE TO WIN THE LOTTERY AND COULD BUY THE IDEAL HOUSE, WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE?</b>									
"Convenience"	45	42	34	33	47	42	54	57	29
Concrete buildings	43	42	31	28	30	47	45	29	57
Sanitary services	48	43	46	56	28	21	27	21	50
Living room	30	26	33	44	14	16	18	7	29
Dining room	23	24	27	17	12	16	18	7	36
3 or more bedrooms	38	43	45	22	26	32	45	36	43
Kitchen	29	30	33	50	19	16	18	7	14
Water and light	9	12	22	17	12	16	18	—	29
Large yard	24	23	26	1	5	16	36	14	7
Farmland	7	7	5	—	14	16	18	14	—
Extras	26	19	14	17	14	16	18	—	7
Other	27	27	31	44	23	16	18	29	21
<b>DO YOU LIKE THE NUMBER OF BEDROOMS IN YOUR HOME?</b>									
Very much	56	28	22	56	72	89	82	50	21
Fairly well	23	35	19	44	23	—	18	36	36
Not very well	21	37	59	—	5	11	—	14	43
<b>HOW MANY BEDROOMS WOULD YOU WANT IN YOUR IDEAL HOUSE?</b>									
One	4	—	5	6	2	—	—	—	—
Two	20	18	19	28	21	—	—	14	21
Three	51	49	38	56	47	53	64	57	29
Four	22	23	34	11	28	37	36	21	29
Five or more	4	9	5	—	2	10	—	7	21
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	82	119	85	18	43	19	11	14	14

are more likely to mention a large number of bedrooms. On the other hand, the people in crowded conditions in the housing projects are more likely to mention rural features, such as big yards and land for planting. It seems that bad conditions in housing projects are a matter of choice, or at least the results of a lack of interest. They are less a question of necessity and are therefore less felt as pressure by housing project families than by people in the slum areas.

This impression is confirmed by a look at satisfaction with the present number of bedrooms. In the slums, people in crowded conditions are more dissatisfied, while in the housing projects the situation is reversed. People living in crowded accommodations in the housing projects are more satisfied, when asked about their present conditions, with the number of rooms than those in less crowded project apartments. In slum households as well as in projects, crowding relates to an increased number of bedrooms wanted, if the people are asked about their ideal number.

### **A Deviate Group: The Movers**

Although the families who have moved away from relocation, either instead of or after moving into housing projects, are now living in slums, they are different from the regular slum dwellers (Tables 9 and 14). Their housing aspirations reflect this difference. As the number of interviews in this group is small, we can only speak of their aspirations in general, without any breakdowns within the group.

The movers seem to be more interested in the site in which they live than in the dwelling itself. They are more likely to mention different features of the location, especially proximity to familiar neighbors and tradesmen, and less likely to talk about features of the dwelling itself. Although they show greater satisfaction with such features as the number of bedrooms and type of building material, their aspirations are higher than those of the general slum dwellers. They give the impression of people who are interested in housing, but for reasons other than the mere



features of the dwelling. In this regard they are similar to other people studied who object to housing projects although they are the best places they can find in which to live.

Some other features of the response patterns of the movers bear out this interpretation. For instance, of all our sample groups, they are the only ones who mention to an appreciable extent visitors as a reason for desiring a separate kitchen. They are also less likely to express a desire to buy furniture. But, if they do so, they are more likely to want appliances, although they have at least as many appliances as the other groups (Table 6), and less likely to want sets of furniture. Finally, they require more overcrowding to feel this pressure in the way that other slum dwellers do. Although the relation between satisfaction in the number of bedrooms and the actual room ratio is the same for slum dwellers and movers, the movers down to a room ratio of .75 are much more satisfied than the other slum dwellers. In fact, to this point, more than half are well satisfied.

## Summary

The dwelling visualized as ideal by our population is easy to describe. It is a single-family concrete building, with at least three bedrooms and several other rooms, with sanitary facilities and pleasant site. This is close to the stereotyped picture of the new building which is visible in advertising and in buildings all over the island. Only when we try to investigate these aspirations more deeply can we see some of their meanings and influences on actual housing changes.

How far are goals, as shown in these aspirations, really operative in inducing some action toward procuring this type of housing? We shall treat this question in the next chapter when we discuss the conditions under which our respondents perform one action, moving to a housing project. However, the investigation of the aspiration by itself shows different types in relation to housing action. The slum dwellers show the strong effect of the physical situation on aspirations. People in households with poor physical



or financial conditions are primarily interested in definite physical improvements, such as fixing walls and providing more space. If the immediate pressure of scenic conditions is removed, housing is seen more in connection with long-range goals or bettering living conditions in general. In the same way, people who see chances for general improvement, because they are young or because they are in forward-looking occupations, see housing as part of general aspirations. A large proportion of all the respondents from the slum sites are directly concerned with housing.

For the people who are relocated, the situation changes. For the sake of simplicity, we shall describe three types. Within the housing projects we find again the two types mentioned in the preceding chapter. One has achieved satisfaction of most of his housing needs and does not see any urgent ones at the present time. Another is in extremely depressed conditions and is therefore satisfied with even modest improvement. Thus we find, in both groups, few immediate housing aspirations, and the paradoxical housing satisfaction of the households who found for themselves rather unsatisfactory conditions in their new housing. We also find little difference between different demographic groups within the housing projects.

The third type has different considerations in choosing a dwelling. Features other than the housing conditions themselves alone are considered. Perhaps they want to live in a particular place, or they do not want to pay rent at all, or they do not want to be close to other people in the same building, or to have contacts with management. In any case, they have high aspirations, at least as high as those of the other slum dwellers. But they do not seem to feel any pressure from their present conditions and are therefore satisfied with a similar place when they move from the relocation site.

## **5. Attitudes Toward a Move to Public Housing**

Most of the families in the slum areas live in substandard housing even by their own lights. They are generally concerned with their living conditions and they have definite ideas as to what kind of home they would like to have. Many of the features such as concrete buildings, paved streets, separate kitchens, and several bedrooms are found in the housing projects. Others, notably single-dwelling construction and home-ownership, are absent in housing projects. This is a good point at which to ask what these people do about a change in housing. Do they see the housing project as a good solution? In other words, after seeing the contrast between the actual conditions of these families, the scene, and their aspirations in this respect, we can ask whether these factors are sufficient to result in an appropriate action.

## Extent of Desire to Move

Let us first see whether people want to move (Table 15). To the question "Do you prefer to stay here or to move?" two-thirds of the respondents in the slums say that they want to move, but nearly two-thirds of the respondents in the housing projects want to stay. However, when asked whether they had tried to find another place, more than two-thirds of the respondents in the slum areas stated that they were neither looking nor had they been looking for another place in which to reside. This was also the case with almost nine out of ten of the project tenants.

**Table 15.** Potential Mobility in Different Sites

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Projects
WOULD YOU PREFER TO STAY OR MOVE?						
Stay	30	<i>41</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>44</i>
Move	70	<i>59</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>56</i>
ARE YOU LOOKING OR HAVE YOU LOOKED FOR ANOTHER PLACE?						
Looked or looking	32	<i>25</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>33</i>
Neither	<i>68</i>	<i>75</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>90</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>67</i>
IF YOU COULD GET YOUR 3 MOST IMPORTANT REQUIREMENTS, WOULD YOU MOVE? 2? 1?						
Would not move for 3	<i>15</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>29</i>
Would move only for 3	<i>22</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>14</i>
Would move only for 2	<i>22</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>24</i>
Would move for 1	<i>41</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>33</i>
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	116	89	86	78	18	21

The idea of moving is thus more general than one leading to specific actions. An interesting pattern of answers comes from the residents of the Stage II sites. These people are under definite pressure to move, but thus far have not done so. They are more likely to say that they want to stay than the other slum residents. However, more than 60 per cent of them are looking for another

place in which to live. These people who have to look for another place are less likely to have even a vaguely favorable attitude toward moving.

The actual interest in moving was also measured by another set of questions. First, the respondent was asked to state the three most important features for liking a place in which to live. Then they were asked: "If you could have all three, would you move? Only two? Only one?" Of the slum dwellers, one person in seven would not move even if he could be satisfied in all three important respects, while four out of ten would move if they could get only one. The tenants of housing projects are only slightly less willing to move in order to obtain their desires. Twenty-two per cent would not move for fulfilment of all three wishes, while 35 per cent would move for even one important feature (Table 15). Thus, intrinsically, between the two groups, there is little difference in readiness to move.

If they could make desired improvements in their living conditions, both groups would be almost equally willing to do so. In contrast, we have again the individuals who are under pressure to move in the Stage II sites. Almost 60 per cent of them would be willing to move for just one attraction. This attitude corresponds to the urgent need to arrange for moving. The persons who moved away rather than being relocated seem to be most set in their place. Of the 18 respondents in this category, seven would not move even for satisfaction of three desires. An additional eight would require all three wishes to be fulfilled. The persons who had moved away from housing projects lean in the same direction.

Thus, in a vague way, residents of the slums would like to leave, and tenants of housing projects would like to stay. However, for a concrete action, a definite incentive must exist. If it comes from the outside, as in the case of the residents of slum sites which are already partially razed, this results in a heightened activity and appreciation of any good features. Otherwise, the move will depend on the satisfaction of a number of demands, and if these demands can be met, the present condition is not very important. Only some people, especially those who have already been through an oppressive moving routine, prefer not to move for any reason.

## Reasons for Resistance

The difference in reaction to the questions on readiness to move can be seen as a function of the total number of requirements, and the strength of the most important of these. Considering everything, the residents of the housing projects are quite satisfied and those of slums are not. But some reasons carry enough weight to move either one. On a question as to why they want to stay or move, the reasons turn out to be different (Table 16).

The resident of the slums wants to stay in his place mainly because he owns his house or because he feels that this is his home.

**Table 16.** Reasons for Staying and Moving

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Projects
WHY DO YOU WANT TO STAY?						
Like neighbors	14	14	5	9	11	—
Good neighborhood	5	—	8	11	—	50
Good location (work, schools)	22	—	8	—	—	—
Like dwelling	—	7	3	43	22	10
Healthy, safe	3	4	3	9	—	—
Own house	38	39	26	—	56	30
Feeling of belonging	16	—	32	—	—	—
No place to go	—	—	—	9	—	—
Other	3	32	13	21	11	10
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO WANT TO STAY						
	37	28	38	47	9	10
WHY DO YOU WANT TO MOVE?						
Dislike neighbors	5	2	2	10	—	9
Bad neighborhood	17	25	10	3	—	27
Far from work, schools	3	4	6	6	—	—
To get ahead in life	15	9	8	—	22	9
Dwelling inconvenient	37	29	10	3	33	9
Cost too high	3	2	—	23	—	9
To buy a house	—	2	—	26	—	9
Change in family status	—	5	—	3	—	—
Must leave	27	—	35	—	—	—
Other	14	23	27	26	44	27
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO WANT TO MOVE						
	79	56	48	31	9	11

The tenant of a housing project wants to stay mainly because of satisfaction with the housing conditions. Conversely, the slum dweller who wants to move is motivated by defects in his housing, or by his neighborhood being unsuitable for bringing up children, or by the desire to improve his social position. The tenant of a housing project wants to move for economic reasons such as owning a house, or to avoid high rent payments. Again, the persons who live in Stage II areas show their resistance by stating that they want to stay because they feel that this is their home, and by stating their feeling of pressure to leave. Their main reason is that they have to leave.

There remains the general impression of a certain conservatism about leaving one's present location. This can be overcome by sufficient reasons. What does this mean for the question of moving to a housing project?

In order to find all respondents who might possibly be inter-

**Table 17.** Desire to Move to Housing Project in Different Location

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			MOVERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II	From Slums	From Projects
<b>ARE YOU INTERESTED IN OBTAINING AN APARTMENT IN A HOUSING PROJECT?</b>					
YES:					
Now	27	29	9	6	19
In the future	37	37	12	22	29
Perhaps	32	26	5	33	19
<b>UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS WOULD YOU MOVE TO A PROJECT?</b>					
No condition	29	17	37	33	29
If I had to	19	14	12	17	14
If it had low rent	7	16	11	17	—
If it had no rent	—	5	11	6	—
If no supervision, restrictions	1	1	—	6	—
If it were a house	2	4	1	—	—
If it were very comfortable	2	6	—	6	—
If there were good neighbors	3	2	—	—	—
If I could buy it gradually	11	4	11	6	5
Other	25	31	19	11	29
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	116	84	86	18	21



ested in moving to a project, a question was asked in several parts: "Would you want to move to a housing project now?" "In the future?" And, not to miss anybody who might want to move, a third possibility, "Perhaps," was added. We have, therefore, those persons who have definite plans to move to a housing project, now, or in the future, and a residue who said "no" to all parts of the question (Table 17).

In every group, less than 30 per cent have present intentions of moving into a housing project. Less than 40 per cent have definite plans for this in the future. The slum residents who have had no specific opportunity to move to projects and the residents of the Stage I areas who have just recently had this idea introduced to them both answer in the same way. The Stage II residents are less likely to move into housing projects by any standards. In fact, as they are still living in the site, they are either resisting the idea or were rejected by the housing authority. They provide us with a good sample of persons unlikely to move into housing projects. Similarly, the people who have moved away from relocation sites are unlikely to move back into housing projects, although they do not appear to be as negative as the Stage II residents.

## **Favorable Circumstances**

As in the general question about moving, we can now ask which conditions might eventuate in a move. The respondents were asked: "Under which conditions would you move to a housing project?" A sizeable group, about 30 per cent, were quite unyielding and said, "Under no conditions," and half as many more would move only if they had to do so. The other responses, which were given frequently, all had to do with the payment of rent: "If it had low rent," "If it had no rent at all," and "If I could buy it on time." Similarly, of the twenty-one respondents who had moved out of housing projects, ten gave economic reasons: inability to pay rent, or change of economic conditions. The attitude toward rent payment seems to be a powerful deterrent to moving into a housing project. How powerful, is illustrated by the fact that two-thirds

of the tenants of the projects said that they had moved in only because they were forced to do so.

## Determinants of Attitude

Let us now inquire as to who are the people who want to move into the housing projects, and who are those who show resistance. We shall use a liberal interpretation of wanting to move, counting all people who said "now," "in the future," or "perhaps" in answer to the question of willingness to move to the housing projects.

**Table 18.** Interest in Moving into Housing Project and Agreement Within Household in Different Slum Sites

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	GENERAL SAMPLE	STAGE I	STAGE II
INTERESTED IN MOVING TO PROJECT	<i>46</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>19</i>
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	115	85	86
HOUSEHOLDS AGREEING ON INTEREST			
Husband and wife agree	<i>49</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>67</i>
disagree	<i>51</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>33</i>
Number of households	37	25	24
Other 2 family members agree	<i>56</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>71</i>
disagree	<i>44</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>29</i>
Number of households	9	10	13

Using this definition we see again that the residents of the Stage II sites are less willing to move into housing projects (Table 18). The residents of the sites which were selected for clearance are a little more willing to move into the projects than are those who constitute the general slum sample. The answer as to willingness to move into the housing project seems to be more thought out, and therefore more stable, the longer relocation has been going on. This can be seen from the agreement of the two family members who were interviewed in the same household. If husband and wife were interviewed, there is more agreement on intention to move into the project in the Stage I households than in the general sample households, and even more in the Stage II households. If two other family members were interviewed, the progression does not pro-

**Table 19.** Interest in Move to Housing Project by Social and Economic Traits

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS		MOVERS	
	Interested	Not Interested	Interested	Not Interested
Number of adults in household (median)	2.3	2.5	2.5	2.7
Number of children in household (median)	2.4	2.2	2.0	2.4
Age of head of household (mean)	42.3	42.6	39.2	44.5
Median family income	\$1215	\$1505	\$1280	\$1457
Employment status of head				
Regular & full-time	72	61	69	77
Irregular and/or part-time	12	21	31	23
Unemployed	16	18	—	—
Percent of households with more than 1 income receiver	65	60	46	73
Occupation of head				
Semiprofessional, managerial, clerical	11	9	23	27
Skilled and semiskilled	39	40	54	31
Owners of roadside stands, lottery salesmen (marginal)	11	17	15	15
Laborers and service workers	24	16	8	12
Unemployed	15	18	—	15
Number of respondents	113	173	13	26

ceed as regularly. However, here too we find most agreement in the Stage II households.

There is relatively little difference in personal characteristics between the persons who want to move into a housing project and those who do not (Table 19). These slight differences are mainly in the same direction as the difference between persons living in slums and those in housing projects. It can be surmised that wanting to move to housing projects generally is found in families with fewer adults and more children, with the head of the household being slightly younger. There are, however, considerable differences according to economic conditions. Primarily, persons wanting to move come from low-income families, where the main occupation is a service or laboring job. These differences are consistent with those which we found between households in slums and in housing projects. Other distinctions between persons willing to

move and those who are unwilling are not so consistent. The willing persons more often come from families where the head has a steady job or where the family depends on only one person's income.

In general, the people who want to move to projects are somewhat more like tenants in housing projects than those who do not want to move. But this difference is not decisive and reveals many inconsistencies. The real differences crystallize during the process of deciding to move. What we can obtain in the interviews with slum dwellers are the early reactions to the idea of moving, which only gradually become consistent with the total situation, as the reaction matures into a real decision.

The housing conditions of the people who want to move to housing projects are quite different from those of the persons who do not (Table 20). From the studying of the records in the relocation

**Table 20.** Interest in Move to Housing Project by Housing Conditions

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS		MOVERS	
	Interested	Not Interested	Interested	Not Interested
House without deficiencies	42	61	46	81
Rooms per person (mean)	1.18	1.23	.94	1.23
Live on paved street	44	62	69	58
Separate kitchen	85	87	83	88
Running water	63	62	62	73
Sewerage	21	23	62	53
Electricity	84	87	92	84
Possession of refrigerator	27	43	23	57
Possession of radio	72	85	92	81
Possession of television	16	24	31	31
Tenure				
Own	54	84	38	88
Rent	46	16	62	12
Percent of income spent on housing	9.2	5.6	11.25	4.6
Number of respondents	113	173	13	26

offices, we can expect that they are mainly renters. This is borne out by the figures. We also find that the persons who want to move spend a proportionately larger amount on housing. Furthermore, we find that the people who want to move to housing projects are presently living under very inferior housing conditions.

People who want to move to housing projects are more likely to live in places which have serious deficiencies, especially holes in walls, floors, and ceilings. They live under more crowded conditions and in places which are not accessible by paved streets. There are fewer differences in facilities, such as separate kitchens, piped water, electricity, and sewers. Fewer persons who want to move to housing projects possess appliances, such as refrigerators, radios, and television sets.

If we compare the differences between people who want to move to housing projects and those who refuse with the differences between residents of slums and those of projects, we find a difference similar to that found in the actual relocation interviews, between early reaction and final decision. The difference in the answers to the interview depends mainly on the housing conditions, i.e., on the immediate situation. The more costly, the less permanent, and the worse his housing situation, the more likely is a person to consider a move now.

We have seen that the family situation is important for the actual decision to move. However, it may not be sufficiently salient to determine the reaction in the interview. We are unable to say from our interviews whether the people who are living in housing projects formerly lived in worse housing conditions than did those who did not finally move in. However, even assuming that this is so, there must have been an additional selection during the decision-making period, which resulted in more young families with many children moving into the projects.

The people who had moved away from the relocation process give a partial confirmation of this view. They had at some time faced the decision of moving to the project and therefore their answers to the interview are closer to actual decisions. In the small group which was interviewed, we find the same differences in housing conditions between people wanting to move and those who refuse as among the slum dwellers. Also, we find more definite



trends in social and economic conditions, analogous to the special position of the project tenants. In this group people who could eventually profit by living in the housing projects would like to move into them (Tables 19 and 20).

## **General Attitudes Toward Housing Projects**

We find a minority with special characteristics, not the bulk of the slum dwellers, interested in moving into a housing project. Objectively, the projects provide superior housing. There must be powerful deterrents acting on people living under inferior housing conditions, such that only a minority is willing to move into projects. These objections to life in housing projects were generally phrased as objections to paying rent and to living in apartments. What does this mean for the general policy of building housing projects? We shall conclude this section by describing the general attitude of our respondents toward slum clearance and housing policy.

Although a large majority think that it is a good idea for the government to build public housing, one-quarter of those in the slum areas think that it is a bad idea. It is encouraging for people concerned with relocation to see that this proportion decreases as involvement with project housing increases. More persons in the slum areas actually under demolition think that it is a good idea to build projects, and only a small proportion of people actually living in projects think that it is a bad idea to build them. Even among people who moved away, a smaller proportion disapprove of housing projects, than among the general group of slum dwellers (Table 21).

What would be suitable alternatives to building housing projects? A question was asked as to what the respondents would consider as another housing aid. With the one exception, to improve economic conditions, the suggestions were for various forms of subsidy for buying privately-owned houses. The most popular was that the government build houses and sell them on installments. This system, which is probably the most realistic, was especially popular in the housing projects, while a rather wishful thought, to



**Table 21.** General Attitude Toward Housing Projects in Different Sites

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Projects
DO YOU THINK IT IS A GOOD IDEA TO BUILD HOUSING PROJECTS?						
Yes	74	84	81	92	78	95
No	26	16	19	8	22	5
WHAT ELSE DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO TO IMPROVE HOUSING?						
Improve economic conditions	12	6	2	—	17	—
Give away houses	8	4	9	3	—	—
Build houses & sell on installments	25	21	30	33	39	19
Give loans & let people get houses	16	20	9	12	11	19
Give land & loans for building	3	4	1	4	—	5
Aided self-help	7	2	1	3	11	5
Give the land	10	14	22	11	17	24
Don't know	9	17	6	18	—	9
Other	10	12	20	18	5	19
Number of respondents	116	84	86	78	18	21

give away land, was more popular among the slum residents. No project tenant proposed that economic conditions be merely improved and in this group we also find the greatest number who cannot think of any alternative plan. These tenants would seem to be relatively satisfied with the present arrangements if they could buy a place of their own, and they have thought seriously about this. There is, however, an important reservation. Ninety per cent in all the groups would prefer their own solutions to a housing project.

### **The Slum Dweller and the Person Living in Substandard Housing**

Another way to approach the attitudes toward slum clearance is to ask whether our respondents considered themselves as living in slums. In answer to the question "Can you give an example of

a slum?" less than half gave their own sites or the sites where they had lived before moving into the housing project. Here we may have the reason why some of the people object to the program of building housing projects. If they do not consider that they live in slums, then to move people into housing projects is an imposition. Strangely enough, people who believe that they live in slums are less in favor of building housing projects than those who do not believe this (Table 22).

**Table 22a.** Slum Identification and Approval of Housing Projects

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS		PROJECT TENANTS		MOVERS	
	Mention own place as slum	Mention other place as slum	Mention former place as slum	Mention other place as slum	Mention own place as slum	Mention other place as slum
Approve of building projects	<i>74</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>84</i>	<i>95</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>90</i>
Do not approve of building projects	<i>26</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>10</i>
Number of respondents	148	138	38	42	10	29

**Table 22b.** Slum Identification, Approval of Housing Projects, and Interest in Moving Into Them

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

MENTION AS SLUM:	SLUM DWELLERS				MOVERS	
	Own Place		Other Place		Own Place	Other Place
APPROVAL OF PROJECTS:	Yes	No	Yes	No	*	*
INTEREST IN MOVING INTO PROJECT						
Interested	<i>47</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>66</i>
Not interested	<i>53</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>34</i>
Number of respondents	110	39	111	26	10	29

\* Numbers too small for further subdivision.

It would seem that people who accept the fact that they live in slums also find some positive value in this life. The person who says that he lives in a slum has identified as a slum dweller and may accept this as a permanent trait which should not be taken away

from him. The person who just has substandard housing conditions but does not accept the name of slum for his home may be more likely to accept the proffered government aid. This relationship holds up if we divide people by their present housing conditions. Among the residents of housing projects and those who have moved away, fewer people disapprove of building projects. People who feel this way are also likely to select the most realistic alternative to housing projects, namely, providing houses on installments.

If we compare the identification with the slum to actual intention of moving into projects, instead of to approval of building them, the picture shifts. As we would expect, people who want to move into projects approve of them in principle, but even people who identify with slums are more likely to want to move into projects. People who believe that building housing projects is a good idea are likely to be willing to move into them, whether they believe that they live in a slum or not. People who admit that they live in a slum are more likely to be interested in moving into a project than those who do not admit it, even though they may think it is a bad idea to build such housing developments.

The combination of the two questions shows a positive relationship to intention to move into a project. People who identify with slums and approve of building projects are most likely to be interested in moving into them. Forty-seven per cent of this group is interested, while in the opposite group, people who do not admit to living in a slum and who disapprove of building projects, only 15 per cent are interested in moving (Table 22b).

This paradox shows in a nutshell the point we have reached in our analysis. Purposely, we have started with a materialistic or scenic description of the problem. We have shown the social and housing conditions of the people in their different settings, and their housing aspirations. We have tried to see how their attitudes toward housing projects fit in with these two conditions. At several points we have seen that other influences, not directly connected with this quality of housing, have been important in forming the decisions. Of the five key terms which were listed in Chapter I, we have restricted ourselves to two, scene and purpose, and the latter only insofar as it relates to the scene. If we want to understand the act of moving in relation to the dramatic setting of social

change, we must now investigate the personalities and values of the people concerned, and the way in which they view the proposed solutions. The next two chapters will investigate personality traits and perception of life in the housing projects. Then, in a final chapter, we can tie together all the key factors in a socio-psychological model of relocation.

## **6. Change and Personality**

From the point of view of the housing administration, relocation implies a change in physical conditions which should be advantageous and acceptable to a variety of people. From the viewpoint of the people who are living in the slums, the change in their home must fit in with their manner of living, their plans for the future, and the rest of their attitudes, values, and opinions. Among these, the relationship to change in itself is of central importance, as we are interested in a reaction to changed conditions. In concentrating on the agent in the improvement of housing conditions, we shall investigate whether his reaction may be a function of his general stance toward changes.

Proclivity to change may be an expression of a general plasticity of the personality, or it may be a reflection of a desire for improvement, or a belief that the world is improving and therefore any change will be for the better. It may be, on the other hand, based on opinions about the desirability of change. It may also be indicated by previous experiences with change in habit and taste. The interview included questions to tap all of these aspects.

As changeability may be a result of so many different circumstances, we shall check first whether there is a common core to all these conditions, and if there is one, the conditions and consequences of changeability. After this is done we shall try to distinguish the separate functions of each aspect of changeability.

## The Five Measures of Changeability

Two of the tests which were described in Chapter II were designed as measures of changeability: first, the role-playing test of creativity, which can be considered as a measure of the general plasticity of personality; second, the sentence-completion test, from which two measures could be derived—optimism as an indication of the cognitive structure of change, and ambition as a desire for change.

From the questionnaire itself, several indices could be derived to measure attitudes and behavior relating to change. The principal measure of attitudes toward modernization was an index of traditionalism-modernism which was based on four questions:<sup>17</sup>

1. "Do you think that the young generation is as good today as before?"
2. "If you could not have both love and respect of your children, which would you prefer?"
3. "Is it better to make sacrifices or to resign oneself to fate?"
4. "Do you prefer to plan new things or to wait for what comes?"

An index of mobility was constructed of three self-descriptions of propensity to change. The three items were:

1. Answer to the question, "Do you like to try new things?"
2. The number of changes in leisure-time activities, which was determined by an answer of "less" or "more than before" to a list of possible activities.
3. Change of favorite radio program or station.

<sup>17</sup> This index is a revision of several similar indices which had proved valuable in studying family planning. Cf. Hill, Stycos, and Back, *The Family and Population Control*, p. 427.



## Personality and Traditionalism

The interview yielded five measures relating to acceptance of change, each of which approaches the problem from a different direction. The role-playing tests investigate *creativity* in human relations; the sentence-completion test gives scores for *optimism* and *ambition*; the interview indices, measure attitudes toward *modernism*, last are records of behavioral *variability*. The degree of interrelation between these different measures can show whether they can be considered as different expressions of the same basic tendency, which we could describe as clinging to traditional ways of life or being ready to embrace new ones.

Table 23 shows the interconnection between these tests and indices, by comparing the high and low scores on each measure.

**Table 23.** Interrelations of Measures of Changeability\*

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	CREATIVITY		OPTIMISM		AMBITION		MODERNISM		VARIABILITY	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
CREATIVITY										
High	—	—	50.5	51.5	55.5	47.7	58.9	43.7	56.5	48.1
Low	—	—	49.5	48.5	44.5	52.3	41.1	56.3	43.5	51.9
OPTIMISM										
High	48.3	49.2	—	—	54.3	40.4	48.5	48.8	52.9	46.5
Low	51.7	50.8	—	—	45.7	59.6	51.5	51.2	47.1	53.5
AMBITION										
High	55.5	46.7	59.4	43.3	—	—	56.7	46.0	51.4	51.6
Low	44.5	53.3	40.6	56.7	—	—	43.3	54.0	48.6	48.4
MODERNISM										
High	55.2	40.0	47.7	48.1	53.1	42.4	—	—	53.6	44.5
Low	44.8	60.0	52.3	51.9	46.9	57.6	—	—	46.4	55.5
VARIABILITY										
High	37.5	30.8	37.6	31.7	35.0	34.2	39.1	30.8	—	—
Low	62.5	69.2	62.4	68.3	65.0	65.8	60.9	69.2	—	—
N	203	195	197	208	207	198	194	211	140	265

(Numbers in column for "creativity" exclude 7 no answers.)

\* For each index respondents are divided almost equally into two groups, "high" and "low." The division for "variability" is about one-third and two-thirds. The table gives the percentage division of respondents in the group shown at the head of the column when classified according to the division shown for the row.

Virtually all of the relations are positive, although of varying magnitude, and the few reversals are close to zero in difference. Two of the personality measures, creativity and ambition, seem closely related. In addition, creativity has an appreciable association with modern attitudes. This close association is the more remarkable as these two measures are arrived at in very different ways. The role-playing measures had no reference at all to any aspects of specific modern ways. This relationship may be interpreted as indicative of an underlying disposition toward all change.<sup>18</sup>

Whether a person does vary his habits depends on many circumstances. Also, the measure which is used for variability depends on very few activities in which a person could change. For this reason, it is not surprising that the associations of variability are somewhat lower than those of modernism. However, they are markedly high with both creativity and modernism. This indicates that even these instances of variability in behavior fit into the general picture of reaction to change.

From these considerations disposition toward change emerges as a general personality trait. Measures derived in so many different ways produced consistent results. This characteristic, however, seems to have various aspects and each measure concentrates on a different one. Further consideration of the five measures will give indications of their significance.

## **Social Characteristics**

We shall now place the "changer" according to his position in society. Table 24 shows the relation of the five measures to sex, age, and education. In general, the changers are more likely to be men, a little younger, and better educated than the non-changers. The attitude index shows the highest correlations with all these characteristics. Creativity is related less to age than to education. The same is true of ambition.

<sup>18</sup> In checking the extent of interrelations of the five variables, chi-squares were computed for all combinations. Of the ten relationships, four were significant at the 5 per cent level, three fell between 10 per cent and 5 per cent, and only three were non-significant.

**Table 24.** Characteristics of Change-Prone Respondents

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	CREATIVITY		OPTIMISM		AMBITION		MODERNISM		VARIABILITY	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
<b>INDIVIDUAL TRAITS</b>										
Male (percent)	43.3	41.5	50.2	33.1	42.5	42.9	53.1	42.6	48.6	39.6
Age (median)	38.2	38.4	37.7	39.4	38.4	37.4	37.0	40.1	36.5	40.6
Education (median grade)	4.73	3.94	4.72	4.10	4.72	3.59	5.63	3.06	5.37	3.53
<b>FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS</b>										
Family income (median)	\$1168	\$1285	\$1133	\$1277	\$1332	\$1107	\$1447	\$1100	\$1257	\$1168
Family income all from earnings	59.4	56.4	51.8	53.8	51.5	54.3	52.6	53.1	55.7	51.3
More than one income received	61.6	56.4	60.9	57.2	62.1	55.8	65.5	53.1	62.9	57.0
Main breadwinner works full-time	61.1	67.7	61.9	66.8	68.9	59.8	67.5	61.6	65.0	64.2
<b>OCCUPATION</b>										
Semiprofessional, managerial, clerical	11.3	9.2	9.6	11.5	11.6	9.1	16.0	5.2	11.4	9.8
Skilled and semi-skilled	43.9	30.7	42.3	35.1	45.3	29.2	37.1	38.0	44.2	34.0
Owners of roadside stands, lottery salesmen, etc.	11.3	14.4	11.2	15.4	9.7	16.7	13.9	12.3	12.9	13.2
Service workers, laborers, farmers	17.3	30.3	25.1	22.6	21.3	25.3	21.1	25.1	17.9	26.0
Unemployed	16.2	15.4	11.8	15.4	12.1	19.7	11.9	19.4	13.6	17.0
<b>TYPE OF WORK OF THOSE WORKING</b>										
Employed (private)	56.4	67.2	61.8	61.3	58.0	65.6	56.7	66.4	57.0	64.1
Employed (public)	22.4	15.8	20.0	18.2	24.3	13.1	22.2	16.0	19.8	19.1
Self-employed	21.2	17.0	18.2	20.5	17.7	21.3	21.1	17.6	23.2	16.8
N	203	195	197	208	198	207	194	211	140	265

The measures of changeability are not related to actual economic conditions. There is little difference in financial security which can be defined in terms of whether the main breadwinner has a permanent full-time job, or whether the family receives no relief or other government or private subsidy, as well as in terms of size of income. Income shows some strong associations, particularly with modernism. However, this relation is reversed by two measures.

Changeability, on the other hand, distinguishes the manner in

which the income is earned; there is a decided difference in the scores between occupations. Most receptive to change are members of those families where the main breadwinner has either a high status job (managerial, semiprofessional, or clerical), or a job adapted to the industrialization of the country, skilled or semiskilled. Opposition to change occurs in the families of service workers, laborers, or farm workers. Looking at this difference in another way, change is not welcome in the families of privately-employed persons, in contrast to either the self-employed or government-employed. Further, the more family members receiving an income, the higher the changeability measures.

The total picture of changeability points to persons with an opportunity for social mobility, who are young enough to look to the future and who do fit into the government programs for educational and economic change.

We can compare these conditions with the previously discussed expressed desires for improved housing. Both occupation and age have the same relation to changeability in general as to high housing standards. Younger persons and those with forward-looking occupations are more dissatisfied with their housing conditions and are ready to accept change. Women are less favorable to change. However, they have the same level of aspiration for their housing, although they stress different features in the house.

It is interesting to note that for creativity and ambition there is little sex difference. The difference occurs in the measures which are estimates of the actual situation, especially optimism. This may be related to other evidence regarding the position of women. In a study of family life<sup>19</sup> women reported less marital happiness, less belief in striving, and less planning for the future than did the men. They also consistently underestimated the concern of their husbands for one of their problems, namely, family size. It may be that fundamentally their desire for change and improvement of conditions is as strong as that of the men, but they feel that their chances for obtaining a desirable change are rather low and that their conservatism is a defense in a frustrating situation.

<sup>19</sup> Hill, Stycos, and Back, *The Family and Population Control*, pp. 56 ff.

## Families and Changeability

As change is not only an individual decision but occurs in the context of the household, difference in changeability, between its members, may paralyze action within the family. We can inquire, therefore, how far the difference in scores is reflected within the families and/or whether there is any agreement between husband and wife. We can measure this agreement by comparing the scores of husbands and wives within our sample, and also those of the two family members interviewed in the households where husband and wife were not both present (Table 25).

**Table 25.** Agreement on Changeability Between Husband and Wife and Between Other Family Members

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

CREATIVITY							
Wife	Husband			Other Family Member	One Family Member		
	High	Low			High	Low	
	50	36			42	33	
	50	64			58	67	
N	64	56		N	24	9	
OPTIMISM							
Wife	Husband			Other Family Member	One Family Member		
	High	Low			High	Low	
	49	35			61	53	
	51	65			39	47	
N	72	51		N	18	19	
AMBITION							
Wife	Husband			Other Family Member	One Family Member		
	High	Low			High	Low	
	60	50			58	45	
	40	50			42	55	
N	67	36		N	26	11	
MODERNISM							
Wife	Husband			Other Family Member	One Family Member		
	High	Low			High	Low	
	53	27			60	45	
	47	73			40	55	
N	73	49		N	15	22	
VARIABILITY							
Wife	Husband			Other Family Member	One Family Member		
	High	Low			High	Low	
	43	12			50	39	
	57	88			50	61	
N	46	67		N	14	23	

We find that there is strong agreement between husbands and wives on all our changeability measures. This is true just as much on the measures of attitudes and behavior on which discussion may have occurred, as on the personality measures on which agreement could not have been arrived at consciously. By comparison, the two family members who were interviewed in other households did not agree strongly. They were usually parent and child, and the difference in age and life experience may overshadow any common family traits. Among spouses, however, the strong relationship of the scores in the several tests points to the possibility that acceptance of change and resistance to it may be attributes of a whole family, and this gives a greater possibility of corresponding actions.

### **Changeability and Residential Mobility**

We have now defined a complex of traits which may make a person willing to accept social change. How do these traits relate to changes in scene? Before turning to the major change with which we are concerned, the move to a housing project, let us consider whether changeable people are more likely to accept changes in housing at all. We can distinguish here between previous history and future. Previous history of moves may be either the source or the consequence of personal changeability. In the same way, intent to move may depend on either personal traits or on external conditions. We shall therefore keep separate the questions of actual mobility, which may be dependent on circumstances, and attitude toward mobility, which is relatively independent of circumstance.

One measure of experience in mobility was simply whether the respondent had moved within the last five years. The respondents who had moved were then further subdivided on the basis of three questions, indicative of a positive attitude toward the moves:

- (1) Staying less than four years on the average in each place.
- (2) Having moved farther than the immediate neighborhood outside the *barrio* (district) or, in the case of project tenants, more than just the move to the project.



(3) Giving as reasons for previous moves improvement of economic conditions or the desire for better housing, in contrast to necessity or pressure because of increase in family size.

The proportion of persons who moved at all is not positively related to the changeability scores (Table 26). If anything, the tendency is in the opposite direction, especially for the ambition and variability scores. Among the people who do move, however, motivation and magnitude of move seem to be functions of proneness to change.

**Table 26.** Residential Mobility and Changeability

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	CREATIVITY		OPTIMISM		AMBITION		MODERNISM		VARIABILITY	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
No move in five years	<i>45</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>40</i>
N	203	195	197	208	207	198	194	211	140	265
Mean mobility score of movers	2.39	2.34	2.38	2.35	2.25	2.33	3.55	3.20	2.61	2.24
N	111	110	110	114	116	108	108	116	64	160

This contrast of conditions which relate to having moved at all and indications of attitude toward moving show themselves most strongly in the index of variability. It will be recalled that this index measures changes in some rather superficial habits, mainly recreation patterns. It seems that people may try variation in this way if they have a very stable residence. If they do not have a stable residence, then they will vary more if they accept the residential changes and less if these are just minimum changes based on necessity. The other measures of proneness to change point in the same direction.

Let us now turn to the readiness for future moves. The respondents were asked whether they wanted to stay or move. They were also asked whether they would move if they could find their three most important housing criteria, two of them, or one, as discussed in Chapter V. We also must distinguish on the basis of present housing condition; people in slums may have different reasons for moving from those of people in housing projects (Table 27).

**Table 27.** Changeability and Intention to Move

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	N	Want to Move	Want to Stay	Would Move for Only One Requirement	Would Move for More Than One Requirement or Not At All
<b>SLUM DWELLERS</b>					
Creativity					
High	114	63	37	49	51
Low	137	66	34	41	59
Optimism					
High	146	66	34	25	75
Low	140	65	35	47	53
Ambition					
High	147	65	35	46	54
Low	139	62	38	44	56
Modernism					
High	132	61	39	47	53
Low	154	67	33	42	58
Variability					
High	110	66	34	59	41
Low	176	62	38	36	64
<b>PROJECT TENANTS</b>					
Creativity					
High	42	35	65	25	75
Low	38	42	58	45	55
Optimism					
High	40	30	70	20	80
Low	40	50	50	50	50
Ambition					
High	40	35	65	27	73
Low	40	45	55	43	57
Modernism					
High	43	44	56	27	73
Low	37	36	64	44	56
Variability					
High	21	29	71	43	57
Low	59	44	56	32	68

In fact, we find little relationship between the changeability scores and intention to move in the slum areas. There is a slight positive relation of most of the indices to the hypothetical move if conditions are fulfilled. Optimism, however, shows a considerable negative relationship with this measure of attitude. On the other hand, among the tenants of the projects there is a strong tendency for people who are more changeable to want to stay in their present place. With the exception of modernism, this actual desire to move and attitude toward moving is not as strong among the respondents with the higher changeability scores. We can conclude that ac-

**Table 28.** Changeability and Previous Moves in Slums and Projects

	MEAN SCORES					N
	Creativity	Optimism	Ambition	Modernism	Variability	
SLUMS						
People who had moved previously	13.3	— .4	3.8	2.4	2.0	108
People who had not moved previously	13.2	1.2	3.7	2.5	2.3	178
HOUSING PROJECTS						
People who had moved prior to relocation	13.4	.1	3.6	2.7	2.1	29
People who had not moved prior to relocation	13.8	— 1.1	3.2	2.3	1.7	51

cepting change in this case means accepting the different kind of life of the housing project.

The residents of the housing projects differ little from those of the slum sites in their readiness for change. As with the fact of having moved at all, circumstances may have been so impelling that individual disposition may have become of little importance. A joint classification of the respondents by the two experiences reveals a more consistent pattern (Table 28). The respondents in the housing projects score higher on the changeability indices if they have moved prior to their relocation. But the relation is slightly reversed for the respondents in the slum areas. Residential mobility can be a path to change in living conditions or an aimless wandering. If the people ended up in housing projects, a record of previous moves would indicate a desire for change. The people who were moved to projects and had stayed in one slum place for a long time are not changers. But if we do not know their final destination, if they are still living in a slum district, then a record of moves is less indicative of changeability.

We can also divide the two groups by their attitude toward living in a housing project. The slum dwellers were asked whether they were willing, now or in the future, to move into a housing project. The project tenants were asked whether their move was voluntary or involuntary (Table 29). There is again little difference among the slum dwellers. But the project residents who had

**Table 29.** Changeability and Reaction to Move to Housing Project

MEAN SCORES	LIVING IN SLUM			LIVING IN PROJECT		
	Do Not Want to Move to Project	Want to Move to Project	Total	Involuntary Move	Voluntary Move	Total
Creativity	12.92	13.64	13.20	13.92	13.22	13.70
Optimism	-.02	+.48	+.18	+.02	+1.16	+.38
Ambition	3.71	3.57	3.65	3.32	3.83	3.48
Modernism	2.48	2.48	2.48	2.30	2.75	2.44
Variability	2.27	2.11	2.21	1.81	2.00	1.81
N	112	174	286	53	24	77

wanted to move in seem to accept change better than those who went into projects only because they had to.

The measure of creativity differs somewhat from this general pattern. It is indicative of the slum dwellers' intention to move into a housing project, and also of their previous record of mobility. On the other hand, the project tenants who came in voluntarily and had records of high mobility score a little lower on this test. It will be remembered that this measure came from a role-playing test and represents a general personality disposition. It is therefore better related to general desires which may be obscured by external conditions.

It can be seen that while there is a definite trend connecting changeability in general with housing experiences, this trend is complicated by the fact that the conditions of the households may interact with these personality traits. We have previously identified some of the conditions which contribute to attitudes toward public housing projects. They are, for instance, age of the head of the household, income, deficiency in the present dwelling, crowding, and rental status. We can control for each of these factors and see how attitude toward moving and residence in slum or project relate to our measures under these controlled conditions (Table 30).

If we hold constant these factors, which are influences toward wanting to move into a housing project, two of the measures show consistent differences between people who want to move into hous-

**Table 30.** Changeability, Interest, and Residence in Housing Project Controlled by Age of Head, Income, Housing Deficiencies, Room Ratio, and Tenure

MEAN SCORES	AGE		INCOME		DEFICIENT		ROOM RATIO		TENURE		
	Low	High	Low	High	Yes	No	Low	High	Own	Low Cost	High Cost
<b>CREATIVITY</b>											
Slum, not interested	12.8	12.5	13.0	12.4	11.5	13.3	12.5	14.7	12.5	11.4	14.1
Slum, interested	14.1	13.2	14.2	11.0	12.9	14.4	12.8	12.8	12.9	12.8	14.7
Project	13.4	13.2	12.7	12.8	—	15.6	14.1	11.4	—	6.5	13.7
<b>OPTIMISM</b>											
Slum, not interested	.2	-.2	.2	-.1	.2	.6	-1	.5	-.1	-.2	.5
Slum, interested	.4	.5	1.0	-.1	.3	.7	.2	.6	.6	.2	.5
Project	.6	-.1	.3	.5	—	.5	1.5	.5	—	1.5	.3
<b>AMBITION</b>											
Slum, not interested	3.8	3.6	3.6	3.9	3.5	3.8	3.7	2.9	3.7	4.0	3.4
Slum, interested	3.6	3.6	3.4	4.0	3.4	3.9	3.8	3.6	3.6	3.8	2.9
Project	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.5	—	4.7	3.4	4.0	—	4.5	3.4
<b>MODERNISM</b>											
Slum, not interested	2.4	2.5	2.3	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.5	1.4	2.5
Slum, interested	2.6	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.3	3.1	2.4	2.4	3.1	2.4
Project	2.8	2.1	2.3	2.7	—	2.5	2.5	1.4	—	3.0	2.4
<b>VARIABILITY</b>											
Slum, not interested	2.3	2.2	2.3	1.9	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.3	2.1	2.1
Slum, interested	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.1
Project	2.0	1.7	1.7	3.1	—	1.9	2.1	2.1	—	1.2	1.7

ing projects and those who do not. These are creativity and optimism. Once the effect of external conditions is even partially removed, these two general personality traits show themselves to be important correlates of interest in making a decisive change. The other measures seem more to be functions of the social conditions; and when these are controlled, they are little related to intentions to move, with the possible exception of modernism.

Interest in the move to the housing project thus turns out to be related to personality factors among people living under similar conditions. In contrast, controlling the influence of social condi-

tions obliterates any difference between people in slums and in housing projects. The personality differences which are related to the distinction between these two groups are principally functions of the background of these people, to which these personality traits are also related.

We have, however, one group who showed an extremely negative reaction toward living in housing projects. These are people who have moved out, either to avoid living in a project or after some experience with them. We have noted before that there are considerable differences between the movers and the other population groups, especially in income. We shall therefore compare three different groups, holding income constant; further breakdown by readiness to move into the housing project is precluded by the small number of movers (Table 31).

We find that in the low income group the movers show consistently lower changeability scores than slum dwellers and project residents. In the higher income group there is less difference. Optimism and variability scores are still lower among the movers, but creativity is distinctly higher. Within the mover group we find a remarkable increase in all changeability scores with income. The extreme rejection of the housing projects which the mover group represents occurs in low-income people if they are extremely resistant to change. Economically they are close to the project tenants, but psychologically they are very different. On the other hand, the movers who could afford to stay out of the project may be flexible enough to find their own solution, staying within a traditional framework.

**Table 31.** Changeability, Income, and Housing Experience

MEAN SCORES:	CREATIVITY		OPTIMISM		AMBITION		MODERNISM		VARIABILITY		N	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Slum												
Dwellers	12.7	13.8	-.1	.8	3.9	3.6	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.2	107	97
Project												
Tenants	12.8	12.7	.5	.3	3.6	3.4	2.4	2.5	3.1	1.7	25	55
Movers	13.8	10.2	-.9	-1.6	3.8	3.0	2.4	2.2	1.9	1.7	30	9

\* Key to Income: High = \$1000 or more.  
Low = under \$1000.



## Summary

In this chapter we have tried to relate the relocation process to personality traits of the people concerned. That is, we examined the relation of the agent to the act and explored how far relocation could be considered to be an irrational act, simply dependent on enduring personal disposition and independent of the objective situation. We found a set of variables which represent different aspects of changeability and which are interrelated, indicating a complex of traits. Changeability, as defined by these measures, occurred principally in the population groups which were close to the general social improvement in Puerto Rico.

Changeability proved to be a poor predictor of the decisions relating to relocation, showing that a purely actor-based approach does not explain the seeming lack of rationality of the people who are opposed to improvement in their housing condition through slum clearance. A combination of approaches, by keeping constant some external conditions, showed, however, that the projective personality measures could predict interest in the housing project. Attitudinal measures relate more to the external conditions—in this case, the actor is dependent on the scene, not vice versa. Variability is based on some examples of other changes. The sample of behaviors selected (which was mainly recreational activities) may be a poor predictor of decisions which lead to residential change. However, in spite of this weak measure, several suggestive findings emerged. People who do not move at all can be highly variable in other respects; but if they have a record of mobility at all, or have moved to a housing project, then their attitudes will correspond to their general record of variability. At the other extreme, the people who most definitely reject the housing project are also the most variable.

The decision process does not depend on the utility of change and on personal, irrational disposition, but on the way in which the person makes a meaning out of the situation which he confronts. People can be stable in their residence and accept change within a stable scenic framework. People who accept relocation can do it for different reasons. They can do it passively and really

reject the changes, becoming in effect custodial wards of the Housing Authority. Or, they can be the people who act rationally for their social mobility, the people who are likely to take advantage of possible changes in their environment and who are also the most changeable themselves.

## **7. The Perception of Housing Projects**

Housing projects are physical facts, visible and subject to clear description. However, to people who may consider them as possible solutions to their housing problems, they may offer different images. People have had different opportunities to learn about projects. Different features may be important to them, and they may even look at the same features in different ways.

### **Sources of Information**

Do people have much chance to learn about housing projects? Three-quarters of our respondents in the slum areas know somebody who lives in a housing project. Of the Stage II residents whose former neighbors had moved into projects, practically everybody reported that he knew a project tenant. A somewhat smaller proportion, but still more than a majority, had actually visited a

**Table 32.** Source of Information about Housing Projects in Different Sites

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Projects
DO YOU KNOW ANYBODY WHO LIVES IN A PROJECT?						
Yes	73	73	97	—	94	—
No	27	27	3	—	6	—
HAVE YOU EVER VISITED A PROJECT?						
Yes	60	75	77	—	94	—
No	40	25	23	—	6	—
HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED ABOUT PROJECTS? (Multiple answers)						
Press, radio	6	5	5	11	39	—
Friends, relatives	91	84	79	28	83	71
Housing authority	3	16	35	94	33	67
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS						
	115	85	81	80	18	21

project, the Stage II residents not much more than the others. Still, first-hand knowledge of the projects is rather widespread.

But knowing persons in the projects and having visited them may not have given people much relevant information about the projects themselves. This is shown rather strikingly by the answers to the question: "How did you obtain information about the projects?" Four out of five people in the slums mention friends and relatives, but only slightly more than a quarter of the project tenants do so. This is surprising, as we can assume that present project residents had as much contact with projects before moving in as the slum residents do now. It is very likely that their idea of what constituted adequate information changed and that they now feel they did not obtain much important information through these contacts. On the other hand, practically all project residents mention the housing authority from whom they did learn facts which are relevant to their present experience. Only a minority of the slum residents mention official sources. Even in the Stage II sites, where relocation has been going on for a long time, little more than a third had received any information from them. Mass media play

an insignificant role for all groups. Before the move to a project informal sources provide most information. Only the people in the projects, who had official sources, realize that they had learned little from these informal sources.

## Extent of Information

Five topics of information were investigated and we can see from them how adequate the information had been. They were (1) selection for residence, (2) relation of rent to standard of consumption, (3) restrictions, (4) facilities, and (5) amount of rent.

A considerable proportion of the respondents did not know at all how tenants were selected for the housing projects (Table 33). The different samples show a definite progression of knowledge corresponding to the progression of the relocation process. Thus, 62 per cent of the respondents in the slum sites could not give any criterion for tenant selection, as compared to 42 per cent in the Stage I sample, and 34 per cent in the Stage II sample.<sup>20</sup> But even of the tenants in the projects themselves, 18 per cent stated that they did not know any basis of selection.

Two criteria were mentioned most, site and income. Both are, of course, the principal criteria in selection. However, their frequency of mention changed in the groups. In all the slum samples, income was mentioned more often than site. In the projects, however, site was mentioned almost twice as frequently as income. Only the project residents saw the projects as a part of a relocation plan rather than primarily as low-cost housing.

Another question about which much confusion exists is the basis on which rent is computed. As the rate is based on income, the belief has spread that rent is increased for visible signs of increased income, such as purchase of major equipment. Respondents were asked: "Do you believe that they increase rent or not in a housing project when one buys a refrigerator? A car? A radio?" (Table

<sup>20</sup> These proportions are similar to an equivalent group—residents of substandard housing—in Baltimore. Fifty-three per cent of the Baltimore group could not give any criteria. Housing Authority of Baltimore City, *A Study of Potential Applicants Toward Public Housing* (Research and Statistics Division, 1954).

33). The overwhelming majority of slum dwellers, from 72 per cent to 90 per cent in the different sites, believed that some of these purchases would bring about higher rent in the projects. Even among the project residents themselves, half believed that their rents would be raised by some of these purchases. Cars were considered to be the most dangerous acquisitions, followed by refrigerators and radios.

**Table 33.** Knowledge of Basis of Selection and Computation of Rent in Different Locations

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Project
HOW DO YOU THINK RESIDENTS OF HOUSING PROJECTS ARE SELECTED?						
By the site where they live	15	25	34	64	17	57
By income	19	31	37	35	28	43
By family size	10	12	22	11	—	10
Politics	2	6	3	1	—	—
Veteran status	1	2	3	1	—	5
Don't know	62	44	34	19	55	29
DO YOU THINK THAT RENT IS INCREASED IF TENANT BUYS THE FOLLOWING?						
Refrigerator	87	65	73	36	83	90
Car	89	71	76	48	89	90
Radio	81	55	65	26	78	88
None of these	6	16	17	45	11	10
Don't know	4	12	7	6	—	—
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	115	85	86	80	18	21

Another source of apprehension about housing projects is the number of regulations and prohibitions. The respondents were asked about a number of possible regulations. First, whether they believed that they existed in the projects, and second, if they believed so, whether these regulations bothered them (Table 34). Only one rule was known by more than half the respondents, and that was to keep the apartment clean. Understandably, it was best known by the residents of the projects. These tenants reported a considerable degree of knowledge about three other regulations, which were strictness of garbage collection, prohibition of domestic



**Table 34.** Knowledge of Regulations in Housing Projects and Objections to Them in Different Sites and Among Slum Dwellers Interested and Not Interested in Housing Projects

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS		SLUM DWELLERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Projects	Inter- ested	Not Inter- ested
HAVE YOU HEARD ABOUT THE FOLLOWING RULES AND RESTRICTIONS IN HOUSING PROJECTS? IF "YES," WOULD THEY BOTHER YOU?								
Prohibition of overnight visits	29 (70)	34 (72)	28 (75)	20 (44)	39 (100)	48 (60)	28 (55)	32 (82)
Keep apartment clean	45	36	51	75	62	62	44	45
Frequent inspections	3 (67)	5 (20)	13 (37)	5	6 (100)	5	4 (20)	9 (40)
Lights-out time	2	7 (17)	10 (33)	—	—	5 (100)	4 (20)	7 (25)
All apartments same color	—	1	8 (14)	—	—	—	3	3 (20)
Leave for income increase	3 (67)	2	12 (50)	1	—	—	5 (50)	5 (44)
No nails in walls	6	7 (7)	12 (30)	3	—	14 (25)	8 (22)	8 (21)
No domestic animals	14 (56)	19 (50)	43 (59)	30 (46)	11 (50)	19	18 (30)	25 (66)
Strict about garbage disposal	10 (10)	12	17	35	28	33	18 (5)	10 (6)
No business at home	9 (22)	9 (25)	22 (21)	8	33	—	12 (21)	13 (21)
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	115	85	86	80	18	21	112	174

Note: The percentage of the people who said that they would be bothered is shown in parentheses under the percentage who had heard of the rule; e.g., 29% of the respondents in the General Slum sample had heard about the prohibition of overnight visits, and of this 29%, 70% said they would be bothered by this. If no figure is shown in parentheses, nobody said he would be bothered.

animals, and prohibition of overnight visitors. Only the latter, the prohibition of overnight visitors, was reported more frequently in the slum districts. This seems to be a great fear prior to moving into the projects.

On the other hand, some regulations which do not actually exist are more likely to be believed by the respondents in the Stage II sites. They are apparently willing to assume everything negative about the projects. One other prohibition was rarely known by the

tenants, but was known by a sizable number of the two most negative groups, the residents of the Stage II sites and those families who had moved instead of being relocated. This was the prohibition on having a place of business on the premises.

The respondents were also given a chance to mention other regulations they could recall (Table 35). A variety of such rules was mentioned, but the only ones which were given with any frequency were to be good neighbors, and penalties for non-payment of rent. People stated, however, that they did not object to these rules.

**Table 35.** Principal Rules Mentioned Spontaneously in Different Sites and by Slum Dwellers Interested and Not Interested in Moving to Housing Project

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS		SLUM DWELLERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Projects	Inter- ested	Not Inter- ested
RULES MENTIONED AS BOTHERSOME								
Amount of rent	3	—	5	1	6	—	1	4
Rent increase	11	2	—	1	—	10	7	4
Prohibition of planting	2	—	6	4	—	—	2	3
Permission needed for parties	—	2	5	—	—	—	—	3
RULES MENTIONED AS NOT BOTHERSOME								
Be good neighbors	21	19	6	30	39	29	21	13
Fine for late payment	5	4	5	16	—	5	5	4
Permission needed for parties	3	7	3	4	—	5	6	3
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS								
	115	85	86	80	18	21	112	174

Of the rules which were listed for the respondents, only two were considered to be objectionable by an appreciable number in all groups. These were the prohibition of domestic animals and of overnight visitors (Table 34). Some slum residents also objected to the prohibition of business. Again, among the residents of the Stage II sites, objections could be found to practically all regulations mentioned. Three-quarters of the residents of the housing projects

stated that none of the regulations of which they knew would bother them. The figure is lower for the slum residents, but even in the most critical group almost half, 48 per cent, state that they would not be bothered. In general, older people voice fewer objections, especially because they are less concerned with overnight guests.

**Table 36.** Knowledge of Facilities and Acceptance of Fairness of Rent in Different Sites and among Slum Residents Interested and Not Interested in Moving to Housing Project

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS		SLUM DWELLERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Projects	Inter- ested	Not Inter- ested
KNOWS THAT HOUSING PROJECTS HAVE:								
Maternity schools	34	36	7	30	44	57	32	33
Child recreation centers	62	85	71	83	88	100	79	67
Adult recreation centers	36	59	44	63	61	57	54	39
Garbage trucks	80	82	79	98	100	95	81	80
Health centers	30	48	29	38	61	38	40	32
Parks	56	74	52	74	67	86	68	55
DO YOU THINK THAT THE RENT IN HOUSING PROJECTS IS HIGHER OR LOWER THAN FOR A GOOD HOUSE?								
Higher	39	21	40	6	39	33	29	37
Same	4	6	2	5	6	—	5	3
Lower	42	63	43	87	44	67	54	44
Don't know	15	10	15	2	11	—	12	16
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS								
	115	85	86	80	18	21	112	174

What do people know about the positive features of housing projects? The interview included a question: "Do you know whether public housing projects have maternity classes? Children's recreation centers? Adult recreation centers? Garbage trucks? Health centers? Playgrounds?" (Table 36). Not all of these facilities exist in all housing projects. Only 30 per cent of the project tenants know about maternity schools, and 38 per cent know about health centers. The other features are widely known among project tenants and much less known among the slum

dwellers. Children's recreation centers and garbage removal are most widely known. There is an interesting contrast between the two samples from sites which are slated for clearance. The people in the Stage I sites who had recently been approached by relocation workers gave practically the same pattern of responses to this question as did the project tenants themselves. On the other hand, the residents of Stage II sites do not believe as strongly in the existence of these facilities.

Men are more likely to know about all these facilities than women, even those which could be assumed to be of special interest to women. This may be related to general acceptance of new features by men, a phenomenon we have noted in the preceding chapter. Older people are more likely to know about health units, and understandably less likely to know about maternity schools.

Finally, a question was included about the fairness of the rent: "Do you think that the rent for public housing projects is higher or lower than that for a good house?" In all groups more people thought that it was lower than that it was higher. Eighty-six per cent of the project tenants believed that it was lower. This proportion was not approached by any other sample group, and in the slum and Stage II samples, the answers were almost evenly divided between higher and lower. Again, the Stage I residents who had just started to think about housing projects reacted favorably, the "lower" outnumbering the "higher" by three to one.

Knowledge about the housing projects is thus quite limited, in spite of the great amount of personal contact which people who do not live there have with tenants. Uncertain knowledge of this kind is susceptible to distortion by attitudes. For instance, wishful thinking among those people who are just starting to face the question of relocation may account for the favorable answers in the Stage I sites. We can tackle this relationship directly by comparing those persons who were willing to move into a housing project with those who were not. This comparison will also allow inferences on the features of housing projects which attract people to live there (Tables 34-36).

The people willing to move to housing projects are slightly less aware of the regulations which were mentioned in the interview. The differences are not striking, however, and are reversed on the

issue of keeping domestic animals. They are also more likely to mention spontaneously the necessity of being a good neighbor. However, they are much less bothered by any of the regulations, even the prohibition of overnight guests, and such animals as pigs, chickens, or dogs. On the other hand, the persons who would like to move into a project are more likely to know of the facilities there, the difference running to more than 10 per cent on five of the six questions. The only exception is garbage collection, which was known to 80 per cent of the whole group. The question on the reasonableness of rent shows the same relationship. However, a smaller proportion of the favorable slum dwellers than of the project tenants believes that the rent is relatively low, 54 per cent, as compared to 84 per cent.

The general impression given by these answers to questions about housing projects is that the slum respondents are not very enthusiastic about them but have few concrete faults to find with them. Residents of projects differ mainly in that some of their original fears about life in projects are dispelled.

## **Stereotypes about Projects**

It will be remembered that role-playing scenes were used in the interview to determine in greater detail the attitudes toward housing projects. Two of the scenes were designed to elicit the extreme reactions to housing projects. In one, the respondent was asked to play the part of a relocation worker persuading somebody to move into a housing project. In the other, he was playing the part of a tenant listing her grievances to be brought up at a meeting. The results of these test situations confirm the inferences made from the direct questions.

In the social-worker scene, all groups mentioned hygienic conditions and general conveniences of the building, such as concrete construction (Table 37). Tenants of the projects were even more likely to mention these two topics than the slum residents. They were also more likely to mention recreational facilities, a topic which was neglected by the other groups. If we consider only



**Table 37.** Topics Mentioned as Reasons for Moving into Housing Project in Different Sites and by Slum Dwellers Interested and Not Interested in Moving to Housing Project

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS		SLUM DWELLERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Projects	Inter- ested	Not Inter- ested
TOPICS MENTIONED AT ALL								
Health	80	91	90	95	94	90	91	83
Housing facilities	77	75	79	88	89	76	83	74
Education	27	28	19	19	28	14	25	25
Recreation	13	22	22	31	5	10	20	18
Services	35	49	56	44	61	33	49	43
Other	38	18	24	25	33	29	30	26
FIRST TOPIC MENTIONED								
Health	34	51	47	58	39	57	41	44
Housing facilities	35	29	19	24	22	29	30	27
Education	2	4	3	1	—	5	4	2
Recreation	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—
Services	5	6	—	9	11	5	7	7
Other	21	7	—	4	28	5	13	13
(No order given)	3	2	14	4	—	—	—	—
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS								
	115	85	86	80	18	21	112	174

the first topic mentioned by the respondent, the one which most easily came to mind, the importance of sanitary facilities for the project tenants becomes even more noticeable. The slum residents who have not had any official contact with the relocation process mention it least, and mention general facilities about as often as other respondents. They are also likely to mention a variety of different points.

A corresponding difference is shown if we divide the slum dwellers into those who do and those who do not want to move into housing projects. The people who are interested in moving are more likely to mention sanitary facilities and general convenience, with little difference on the other factors. These two topics gain more prominence as people are more deeply concerned with housing projects.

The complaint scene showed again, as a complaint, the importance of paying rent. This was by far the most important com-



plaint in all the groups, especially the two negative groups, the Stage II residents and the movers from the slums. The second most important complaint related was the payment for utilities. The only other topic mentioned frequently was complaints about neighbors. It is interesting to note that this topic was mentioned most by people who had moved from housing projects. In this group, it seemed more important than payment for utilities.

**Table 38.** Topics Mentioned as Complaints in Different Sites and by Slum Dwellers Interested and Not Interested in Moving Into Housing Project (Role-Playing: Grievance Committee Scene)

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS		SLUM DWELLERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Projects	Inter- ested	Not Inter- ested
COMPLAINTS								
High rent	40	44	52	39	61	33	35	51
Always rent, never ownership	6	4	9	4	11	5	4	7
Pay for utilities	15	12	36	16	44	14	13	25
Bad neighbors	21	33	21	21	17	38	25	24
Children are nuisance	8	16	12	10	6	29	11	12
No overnight guests	7	9	6	4	17	14	6	8
Restrictions	5	5	10	10	11	19	3	9
Supervision, inspec- tion	4	7	14	4	22	5	4	10
No repairs	3	7	8	6	—	5	5	6
Lack of facilities	5	4	5	4	11	24	5	4
Other	5	9	9	1	—	—	4	10
None	25	16	17	26	11	10	30	14
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS								
	115	85	86	80	18	21	112	174

In relation to readiness to move into project housing, rent and payment of utilities show themselves as important factors, while complaints about neighbors do not. Concern with restrictions, which was voiced quite rarely, also distinguished these two groups.

There is little difference according to sex and age on these extreme positions. Women are somewhat more likely than men to mention general convenience and less likely to refer to sanitary conditions. They also voice more complaints than men, especially mentioning entertainment more often. If we look only at the first

answer given, which is probably the most salient one in the scene, younger respondents mention such things as safety from fire or laundry facilities, while older respondents started off with peaceful environment or reassurances about the rent. We can compare these answers with the differences according to age and sex in housing aspirations and general outlook, which we have discussed in Chapters IV and VI. As we saw there, the housing aspirations of women are as high as those of the men, but the women generally are more pessimistic about their chances. Correspondingly, they voice more complaints in general. Younger respondents have high aspirations, are more optimistic, and are generally more favorable to change. They express the same feelings by giving more arguments for moving to the housing project, in the role of the relocation worker.

The third scene was designed to investigate further the feelings

**Table 39.** Perception of the Supervisor in Different Sites and by Slum Dwellers Interested and Not Interested in Moving to Housing Project (Role-Playing: Supervisor Scene)

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS		SLUM DWELLERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Projects	Inter- ested	Not Inter- ested
TOPICS TREATED IN SUPERVISOR ROLE								
Factual	32	16	10	20	6	5	27	17
Offers help	40	34	41	25	50	24	36	40
Constructive criticism	7	12	9	13	28	14	8	10
Destructive criticism	10	2	9	8	—	10	7	7
Excusing tenant	14	12	2	6	28	10	12	8
Approval	2	5	5	5	11	—	4	3
Other	18	18	21	19	22	10	17	20
ATTITUDE IN SUPER- VISOR ROLE								
Superior	10	12	19	11	28	—	11	14
Understanding	14	8	6	10	6	10	10	10
Formal	8	16	10	15	44	29	12	10
Antagonistic	3	6	2	6	—	5	4	3
Preoccupied	—	—	2	3	—	5	—	1
Apologetic	2	2	2	—	—	—	1	3
Amiable	58	42	52	53	22	43	53	51
NUMBER OF RESPOND- ENTS PLAYING ROLE								
	108	74	82	78	18	19	102	162

about supervision. The respondents were asked to play an administrator visiting an apartment in a housing project (Table 39). Usually, the supervisor was played as being friendly and objective. Most criticisms which he offered were constructive, or he gave a ready excuse himself for some faults on the part of the tenant. There were few differences between the different population groups with regard to the desire to move into the project. Women were somewhat more willing than were the men to play the role. This outcome of the role-playing scenes confirms the findings from the direct questions, that there may have been some general uneasiness about supervision, but there was no specific point which aroused opposition. Favorable attitudes toward housing are less related to lack of resentment against supervision than to positive acceptance of the opportunities within a housing project.

From all the methods of investigation we find agreement that the attraction of project housing lies in the type of building and the facilities provided, and that the main deterrent is the necessity of regular payments. Questions about entertainment, type of neighborhood, and supervision become important to a minor degree. The relative strength of values related to these topics will determine the willingness to live in the projects.

## Values and Perception of Project

It will be recalled that a picture test of values was administered to all respondents. This consisted of matching pairs of pictures to a slum scene or to a project scene. Each pair was designed to represent one of five values. Several measures can be obtained from this test. These are: which one of the pair the respondent considered to fit the slum or the project; which he considered to be the better situation; and what standard of judgment he himself used in reaching these decisions.

First, the combination of the assignment of the pictures to project and slum with the evaluation of the better picture gives a general measure of evaluation of the housing project itself. If we take all twenty pairs, disregarding their specific content, we find

**Table 40.** Interpretation of Picture Test in Different Sites and by Slum Dwellers Interested and Not Interested in Moving to Housing Project

(Italic figures indicate percentages of respondents)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS		SLUM DWELLERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Projects	Inter- ested	Not Inter- ested
TWO OR MORE PICTURES INTERPRETED ACCORDING TO A CERTAIN STANDARD OF JUDGMENT								
Health	92	92	95	88	100	93	90	93
Recreation	94	93	95	97	88	100	95	94
Economic judgment	51	69	68	78	19	40	51	60
Education	64	79	80	74	57	73	72	71
Independence	58	59	58	26	31	27	22	20
Housing conditions	39	43	48	67	81	73	60	53
Economic circum- stances	66	55	64	59	57	40	61	63
Type of people	18	53	29	33	25	53	32	31
Happiness	27	30	25	32	19	13	28	26
Home ownership	5	1	7	3	6	13	3	3
NUMBER OF PICTURES WHERE PROJECT IS JUDGED TO BE WORSE								
None	57	72	57	74	62	67	66	58
One to three	22	12	13	17	19	20	18	15
More than three	21	16	30	9	19	13	16	27
NUMBER OF RESPOND- ENTS ANSWERING TEST								
	97	74	75	69	16	15	95	151

that more than half of the respondents assigned all pictures which they considered to be the better ones to the housing project (Table 40). Seventy-four per cent of those respondents who lived in projects did this, and almost as many in the Stage I sites, but only 57 per cent in the general slum sites. There is a corresponding difference according to desire to move into the project.

Taking this measure as evaluation of life in projects, we find that younger people like projects more than older ones, and men more than women. Also, if we divide families by the occupation of the head of the household, the higher the status and the more future-oriented the occupation, the more approval is given to the housing project.

From the standards of judgment which were used, we can get

a measure of value orientation (Table 40). While the pictures were supposed to represent only five different topics, namely, health, education, recreation, economic judgment (i.e., the virtues of saving and prudence), and independence, the reasons which people gave included some of these intended standards, but also some different ones. These could be classified into five additional standards, including housing conditions, economic conditions, type of people, happiness, and home ownership. We can compare these ten topics and determine which were more salient for people in different conditions.

People in housing projects more frequently mentioned health, recreation, type of people, and home ownership, which we can infer to be the topics with which they are especially concerned. On the other hand, people in slums more often mention economic judgment, education, housing conditions, and economic circumstances. It seems that the people in the slums are concerned with pressing situational conditions, mainly economic and housing, while the

**Table 41.** Picture Test: Assignment to Housing Project and Approval of Intended Values in Different Sites and by Slum Dwellers Interested and Not Interested in Moving to Housing Project (Selected Pictures)

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	SLUM DWELLERS			PROJECT TENANTS	MOVERS		SLUM DWELLERS	
	General Sample	Stage I	Stage II		From Slums	From Projects	Inter- ested	Not Inter- ested
BOTH PICTURES REPRESENTING VALUE ASSIGNED TO PROJECT								
Health	37	12	20	24	38	7	26	25
Recreation	11	4	1	13	19	20	8	5
Economic judgment	13	7	4	15	12	20	12	7
Education	34	7	9	46	13	53	20	18
Independence	19	7	3	30	6	—	16	7
BOTH PICTURES REPRESENTING VALUE JUDGED "BETTER"								
Health	34	30	16	23	56	27	33	29
Recreation	13	27	—	10	25	20	17	11
Economic judgment	20	24	7	17	—	13	22	15
Education	32	34	13	45	19	47	33	23
Independence	21	24	5	27	—	—	20	12
NUMBER OF RESPOND- ENTS ANSWERING TEST								
	97	74	75	69	16	15	95	151



people in housing projects are more concerned with further development. The people within the slums who are less concerned than the rest with the economic judgment and more concerned with the housing conditions are those who want to move into housing projects.

Now, let us disregard the standards which people said they used and concentrate on the stimulus conditions. That is, we shall discuss the pictures according to the values which they had been planned to uncover. People in housing projects approved more of recreation and independence. They were also more inclined to assign more recreation, economic judgment, education, and independence to the housing projects (Table 41). A similar difference is found between people who did, and people who did not, want to move into housing projects. However, there is a difference between these two groups concerning the importance of health.

Thus, people who mention more housing conditions are more likely to want to move to housing projects. In addition, people who react favorably to scenes expressing positive values on health, recreation, and independence, and who think that these values can be realized in housing projects, are likely to want to move into them. The effect of actually living in the housing projects may be that these topics become more consciously recognized and more easily expressed.



## **8. The Process of Relocation**

### **Utility and Decision**

Let us now summarize the different ways in which relocation can be regarded. It can be looked at as a purely mechanical process. Here is substandard housing; here are buildings with apartments which can be rented at low cost. Thus, if people can be moved from one place to another, they will be much happier. Or it can be looked at as a problem of a person's decision on the course of his life. He has living conditions which are less than comfortable, but to which he is accustomed. He can decide to keep on living under similar conditions, making the best of them. He can try to move into a housing project which has a different pattern of living conditions and makes a different set of demands on him. Or he can try to improve his housing conditions without outside intervention. A great part of the analysis of this study has been devoted to the question as to which was the proper point of view to take.

From a dramatic perspective these two modes contrast in the

importance of the scene against that of the agent, and of the purpose against the agency. That is, the environmental conditions, the scene, are the all-important reason for the move, and the means of changing these conditions, the move to the housing project, is an end in itself.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, some people want to change their way of life. This includes their scenic conditions as just a means to this specific end. These two aspects may also represent two distinct processes which may predominate in some people but be almost in balance in others. In summarizing the results of the study, these two patterns provide a good principle of organization.

The mechanical aspect is best represented in the comparison of some social characteristics of slum dwellers and of project tenants. In general, the tenants form the weaker and more vulnerable part of the population. They have less income, less secure income, and are more likely to represent broken homes. In a very real way they need the protection afforded by government action, and many of them already receive some government aid. These people apparently look on government housing as a type of institutional support, which they need. They tend to become passive objects of the move. Hence we do not find a similar distinction between people in slums who do, and do not, want to move into housing projects. However, here we find a similar mechanical push. People who want to move into projects generally have extremely bad housing conditions, dilapidated and crowded. Furthermore, people now living in projects do not intend to move out, but easily accept that they can be moved for serious reasons.

However, we noted that some of the project residents did accept wholeheartedly the life in the project. Of course, some of the people who moved into the projects did not fit the general description given above. Here we encounter the other strand of the process of relocation. The people who do want to stay in the projects accept them as part of a path of progress. Although they eventually may want to own their homes, too, they apparently are quite satisfied at present to use the project as base. This future orientation is shown in part by the occupational distribution within

<sup>21</sup> This is, for instance, the rationale behind the accounting scheme for residential mobility in Rossi's *Why Families Move*.

the project, and by the fact that project residents are younger and have more children.

Beyond this, we must look for more subtle clues as to the aims of people who move and those who do not. In the discussion of personality traits we found that those people who made a voluntary decision either to live in the old environment or to move are the ones who accept change. Moreover, if we control for the effect of environmental conditions, people who are creative and optimistic are more likely to move into housing projects. This shows the importance of the agent over the scene. In a similar way, the values as exhibited by the picture test show the different orientation of the people in projects, who concentrate on values which they can realize through the life in the housing project.

## Decision Patterns

So far, we have made inferences from the cross-sectional interviews to a process taking place over time. In Chapter I we have made reference to a study of records of people undergoing relocation, which gives their reactions at different moments. We found indications of different kinds of influences operating at the beginning and at the actual time of moving. That is, early reaction is determined mainly by mechanical factors, for instance the difficulty of moving. The final decision to move seemed more related to those conditions which made the housing project the means to a further end. Through the interviews we found that different people are affected by the various factors in different ways. For a small number of persons, we have data of both kinds, from the present interviews and from the records of their reaction to relocation.

The records of all our respondents were searched in the office of the housing authority and were analyzed in the same way as in the original study. Not many records of this kind were available. Naturally, there was only one set from each household and it was assumed that the head of the household had been interviewed by the relocation worker. Furthermore, some of our samples could

have no records, for instance, the slum sample and most of the Stage I sites. And, for some locations, the records were no longer available. Eventually we had 118 usable records, 64 for those who had accepted relocation from the first interview, 28 for those who had refused from the beginning, and 26 for those who had changed, refusing at first and then accepting relocation. These people live in different sites, some still in relocation areas, some in housing projects, and some have moved out. While the numbers are too small for additional breakdowns, we can compare the values and decision patterns for these people.

The salience of values, expressed in the frequency with which

**Table 42.** Values as Shown in the Picture Test by Reaction to Relocation Interviews

(Italic figures indicate percentages)

	ALWAYS ACCEPT RELOCATION	ALWAYS REJECT RELOCATION	FIRST REJECT, LATER ACCEPT RELOCATION
<b>ACCORDING TO RESPONDENT'S INTERPRETATION</b>			
Two or more pictures interpreted as representing a certain standard of judgment			
Health	89	96	35
Recreation	98	93	100
Economic judgment	39	57	32
Education	82	79	82
Independence	16	21	14
Housing conditions	68	54	68
Economic circumstances	54	68	59
Type of people	35	18	45
Happiness	16	36	41
Home-ownership	7	11	5
<b>ACCORDING TO INTENDED VALUES</b>			
Both pictures representing value assigned to project			
Health	26	29	5
Recreation	12	4	9
Economic judgment	14	4	9
Education	49	—	41
Independence	21	7	32
Both pictures representing value judged "better"			
Health	25	32	9
Recreation	7	7	14
Economic judgment	12	4	18
Education	47	7	45
Independence	19	7	27
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS TO PICTURES	53	28	22

a certain value is used as a standard of judgment in different pictures, shows a pattern consistent with the sequence of decisions. Of the three groups, the people who had been interested in moving from the beginning least often mentioned economic judgment, the necessity of having to apportion money for rent. The people who refused to move at all were least frequent in their mention of characteristics of the people, such as their being better or nicer, and in their mention of recreation. They are least interested in change of pattern of leisure time and general living.

Of particular interest are those people who changed their minds. They are most concerned with housing, and least concerned with the two questions which people may have about housing projects—economic judgment for regular payment, and supervision. They are thus the more passive types. First, they react to the difficulties of changing, and then they accept the change. They are driven mainly by their interest in housing conditions and their lack of interest in what is being done to them.

If we just look at the values represented in the initial selection of the pictures, we find an interesting contrast in three of them. The accepters approve health, education, and independence, and associate them with the housing project. The rejecters do the reverse. The changers are between the accepters and the rejecters on education, and the extreme group with regard to health. They least approve the pictures showing better health, and they also infrequently assign these situations to the housing projects. They are apparently unconcerned with health, which is the strongest feature of the project. The changers are between the accepters and rejecters on education, and approve independence most, assigning it to the housing project.

The three groups also differ in their changeability scores. The respondents who refused first and then accepted the move are least creative, optimistic, and ambitious (Table 43). In attitude and behavior, modernism and variability, they are quite changeable. The respondents who refuse to go to the projects, on the other hand, do not differ from the accepters on the personality traits, but they do score lower on modernism.

The consideration of the time sequence and the study of different people gives us a consistent picture where these two ap-



**Table 43.** Changeability and Reaction to Relocation

MEAN SCORES	ALWAYS ACCEPT RELOCATION	ALWAYS REJECT RELOCATION	FIRST REJECT, LATER ACCEPT RELOCATION
CREATIVITY	14.0	13.6	13.0
OPTIMISM	.2	.4	0.0
AMBITION	3.8	3.7	3.1
MODERNISM	2.6	2.2	2.6
VARIABILITY	1.7	2.4	2.3
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	64	28	26

proaches overlap. Looking at the conditions, we find the two different kinds of housing conditions which involve certain differences in style of life. Looking at the people, we find those who are driven by the conditions, and those who try to make decisions about the type of life which they want to lead. In combining these classifications we can distinguish four types. The first are passive people who are in no position to change, for instance, because their site is not being improved, or because they are ineligible. These will be the problem cases in the slum areas. The second are the passive people who were relocated: they are the ones who need guidance and relief in the projects. Third, there are people who choose not to live in housing projects: they try to establish the life they want in their own way. And, finally, we come to the people who choose to move into housing projects: they will want to use their residence in housing projects as a vehicle for further change. People assign themselves to one of these types on the bases of their whole stance toward life. This decision is prior to the rational and irrational approaches implicit in these types and it is of a kind which we have called non-rational. Or, in dramatic perspective, it is the base in which scene, agent, agency, and purpose are organized around the act.

### Relocation and Social Change

Housing projects are built because of the necessity of providing shelter for people who otherwise could not have adequate housing.



But the people who build them always have the additional hope that the construction of these projects will also improve the general life style and living conditions. In a country like Puerto Rico, the implications of a move to a housing project are tremendous. It means moving from small houses to apartment buildings, from wooden construction to concrete buildings, from squatters' rights to tenancy, from shifting day by day to planned administration. Thus it involves not only the connotations such a move would have in a city in the United States, but a further step in the process of urbanization as well.

The planner faces the difficulty, however, that many people are not ready for this change. They do not want to make it in this manner, and that those who do make the move are frequently not those who could profit most by the change. This study has shown how strong is the fear of economic regimentation in the slum dweller, even in many with a high potential for mobility. It may be well to consider whether there is not too much change at once in the system of building housing projects. Other systems for improvement of living conditions may fit better for many people. The pioneering efforts in aided self-help<sup>22</sup> are one case in point, and there is room for similar kinds of experimentation.

On the other hand, not all the people who do move into housing projects accept all the changes. We have seen that there are two types who move in, and the housing projects may be just as necessary for the first type, who really seek institutional help, as for the other type, who really use the project as a vehicle of change. Realizing that the projects serve these two functions will help the administrator in planning his activities and save him from many frustrations. This is the more important as it is likely that with further improvement of economic conditions the passive type may predominate within the projects. This has been the pattern

<sup>22</sup> Under aided self-help programs, groups of settlers work together to build houses for all the households in the group. The government provides technical assistance and a small loan to cover the material, which is repayable in annual installments. This program was developed by the Social Programs Administration of the Puerto Rican Department of Agriculture and used extensively to resettle rural squatters in satisfying rural communities. Similar projects have been started in urban areas. See *Aspects of Housing in the Caribbean* (Caribbean Commission, Central Secretariat, Port of Spain, Trinidad, 1951, Kent House), pp. 83-109, and Puerto Rico Planning Board, *Faith in People* (San Juan, 1954).

in many stateside cities. On the other hand, there is the possibility that some families who have come to the projects in a more or less passive way will be stimulated by the opportunities in the project. We found a certain general difference in values which is likely to represent such an effect of residence in housing projects.

Thus, in conclusion it can be restated that projects have two important social functions. Depressed sections of the population can be protected, and some people can be provided with a base from which they can seek a better life for themselves.

## **Appendix A. Questionnaire**

The questionnaire consisted of several parts: the first part was the Role-Playing scenes; the second part was a completion test; the third part consisted of the interview proper; the fourth part consisted of the projective test.

The completion test and interview are shown on the following pages.

### Completion Test

	Scored for	
	Optimism	Striving
1. When things go bad . . .	x	
2. What worries me most . . .		x
3. For people like me, the future . . .	x	
4. When the father told his son that he could not continue to go to school, the son . . .		x
5. These days most young people . . .	x	
6. When he considered his past life, he understood that . . .		x
7. He felt worst in his life when . . .		x
8. He considered that his failure in life was due to . . .		x
9. It is difficult to make good friends because . . .	x	
10. If I could have a really good opportunity in life, I . . .		x
11. What happens to most people is that . . .		x
12. The kind of people whom I most admire are those who . . .	■	
13. One must be careful in one's relations with . . .	x	
14. Basically, most people . . .	x	
15. It is worth the trouble to be considerate with other people because . . .	■	
16. If one always tries to be a little better than others . . .	■	

Name

Address

1.

Name	Relationship to the Head of the Family (Husband)	Age	Sex	Education

2. All the people over 14 years:

a. Name				
b. Has he or she worked during the period from June 1954 to June 1955?				
c. IF HAS WORKED How long a time has he worked?				
d. Haven't worked. Reason:				
1. Looking for work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Disabled	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Needed at home	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Studying	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Occupation				
f. Place of work				
g. Weekly Income				
h. Time that he takes in traveling to work.				
i. How long has he worked there?				
j. Does he work steady or normally?				
k. Does he also work for some other person or on his own?				
l. What amount of money does he obtain from other sources such as:				
1. Employment compensation				
2. Veteran benefits				
3. Social security				
4. Military allotment				
5. Relief				
6. Money sent by some relative or friend				
7. Lottery				
8. Other (specify)				
m. Total Family Income				

3. House ☐ Apartment ☐
4. Answer the following questions by observation
- |                                 |                              |                             |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Makeshift walls              | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Dirt floors                  | <input type="checkbox"/>     | <input type="checkbox"/>    |
| 3. Movement of walls and floors | <input type="checkbox"/>     | <input type="checkbox"/>    |
| 4. Holes or cracks in the:      |                              |                             |
| a. Roof (ceiling)               | <input type="checkbox"/>     | <input type="checkbox"/>    |
| b. Outside walls                | <input type="checkbox"/>     | <input type="checkbox"/>    |
| c. Floor                        | <input type="checkbox"/>     | <input type="checkbox"/>    |
5. Is the house on a street? Yes ☐ No ☐
6. How many rooms does the house have?
7. How many bedrooms are there?
8. How many beds are there?
9. Persons to a bed
10. Do you have a separate kitchen?
11. Where do you get water?
- |                                    |                          |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Pipes or well in the house      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Pipes or well outside the house | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Public well                     | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Tank                            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Spring or river                 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. Other                           | <input type="checkbox"/> |
12. How do you dispose of sewage?
- |                                 |                          |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Sewer line                   |                          |
| 1. Connected to sewerage system | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Connected to a septic tank   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Outside Toilet               | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Other                        | <input type="checkbox"/> |
13. Which of the following facilities do you have?
- |                            |                          |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Light                   |                          |
| 1. Electric                | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Gas                     | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Kerosene lamp (lantern) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Oil stove               | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Radio                   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Automobile              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. TV                      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
14. House value (Owner) Rent Water  
Light  
Gas
15. Do you believe that the young generation is as good today (now) as before?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
16. Why?
17. In order to succeed in life, what do you think is more important: to work hard or to be lucky?
- |                      |                          |                 |                          |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 1. To work           | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2. To have luck | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. The two are equal | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. Neither      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
18. a. In general would you say that a son ought to live in the same village as his father?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- b. To have the same occupation or job?  
Yes ☐ No ☐
19. Everyone wants his children to love him and respect him. Nevertheless, if your son could not give you both love and respect, which would you prefer to have?  
Love ☐ Respect ☐



20. From your experience, would you say that it is better to make any sacrifice in order to succeed in life or is it best to resign oneself to whatever may come?  
1. To make any sacrifice ☐ 2. To resign oneself ☐
21. Do you think that it is good that a woman leaves to work outside the home if she has a responsible person for the care of her children or ought she to stay at home?  
1. To work outside ☐ 2. To stay at home ☐
22. In general would you say that it is best to make plans for things in life or is it better to leave them to fate?  
1. To plan ☐ 2. To leave them ☐
23. Do you like to try new things or do you prefer to keep on doing what you've always done?  
1. To try new things ☐ 2. To do them as always ☐
24. Did you like to try new things formerly?  
1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐
25. (If they like to try new things) Do you like to try new things all the time or only once in a while?  
1. Always ☐ 2. Sometimes ☐
26. In your leisure time, which of these things are you doing to amuse yourself this year? Are you doing them more often, less often, or the same as before? What things aren't you doing this year that you were doing before?

	Yes	More	Less than formerly	Same	No	Interesting Yes	formerly No
1. Going to the movies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Visiting friends and relatives	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Reading	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Listening to the radio or watching television	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Going to the cafe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Going to sports	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
a. Baseball	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Cockfights	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Dancing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27. What radio station do you like best this year?
28. Last year?
29. What is your favorite program this year?  
Last year?
30. How long have you lived here?
31. Where did you live before? Why did you move?

	Address	Date	Reason for leaving
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

32. In general do you like living in this neighborhood (vicinity, area)?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐  
 (If Yes) Very much ☐ Fairly well ☐

33. Why?

34. Do you think that this neighborhood is a good place for bringing up your children?

Yes ☐ No ☐

35. a. Why is it good?

b. Why is it bad?

36. Who takes care of the children if you are sick or have to leave for some reason?

a. Friends in the neighborhood ☐ d. Commadres outside the neighborhood ☐  
 b. Relatives that live near ☐ e. Don't have anyone ☐  
 c. Commadres in the neighborhood ☐ f. Other ☐

37. If you needed money, would you get a loan from:

a. Friends in the neighborhood ☐ e. Place where you work ☐  
 b. Friends outside neighborhood ☐ f. Credit union ☐  
 c. Relatives in neighborhood ☐ g. Store where you shop ☐  
 d. Friends having much money ☐ h. Moneylenders ☐  
 i. Bank ☐

38. Do you owe money to some of the persons or places mentioned?

Yes ☐ No ☐

39. In what places? How much were you loaned? What was the loan for? How much do you have to pay? When do the payments fall due? Are you able to keep up with the payments? (Ask the same questions covering the last six months.)

Place where loan was made	Amount of loan	Purpose for loan	Amount to be paid	Date of loan	Dates on which payments fall due	Are you able to keep up with the payments?
						Yes <input type="checkbox"/>
						No <input type="checkbox"/>
						Why? <input type="checkbox"/>
						Yes <input type="checkbox"/>
						No <input type="checkbox"/>
						Why? <input type="checkbox"/>
						Yes <input type="checkbox"/>
						No <input type="checkbox"/>
						Why? <input type="checkbox"/>

Remarks:

42. Why do you want to remain here?

43. Why do you want to move?

44. a. Have you been looking for another place?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b. Are you looking for another place now?

Yes ☐ No ☐

45. How do you like it outside the place?

46. When you choose a place to live is there something in particular that you would like it to have? Something that you wouldn't want it to have?

47. If you had to move, what do you think is most important?

1. Closeness to your work ☐  
 2. School facilities ☐  
 3. Closeness to your present neighborhood ☐  
 4. That you are able to trade with personal acquaintances ☐  
 5. Other ☐

48. Select the three most important reasons that were said in questions 46 and 47.

1. Imagine that you are able to have all these things, but you would have to go to live at a new place.

You would move ☐ You wouldn't move ☐

a. If you were able to have two of these things.

You would move ☐ You wouldn't move ☐

b. If you were able to have one of these things.

You would move ☐ You wouldn't move ☐

2. (If Yes in 1) Would you move to the other side of the street if you were able to have these three things?

Yes ☐ No ☐

a. Would you move to another neighborhood if you were able to have these three things?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b. Would you move to another town if you were able to have these three things?

Yes ☐ No ☐

3. (If Yes in 1b) Would you move to a house in:

	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
a. Cuba	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Costa Rica	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Ponce	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. To a town 30 kilometers away	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. To the next town	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

49. If you won at the lottery, what would you buy with this money?

50. Is buying a house important for you?

Yes ☐ No ☐

51. If you won at the lottery and were able to buy the ideal dwelling, how would you like the outside to be?

52. Why?

53. Would you like to live in a house or in an apartment?

House ☐ Apartment ☐

54. How do you like the number of bedrooms in your home?

Very much ☐

Fairly well ☐

Very little ☐

55. If you were able to have the ideal dwelling:

a. How many bedrooms would you like to have?

b. Why would you like to have this number of bedrooms?

56. How do you like your present dwelling of wood (concrete, cardboard)?

Much ☐ Fair ☐ Very little ☐

57. If you were able to have the ideal dwelling:

a. Of what material would you like the outside?

b. Why would you like the outside to be of this material?

58. If you were able to have the ideal dwelling:

a. Would you like to have a separate kitchen?

Yes ☐ No ☐

b. Why would you like it?

59. Would you like your neighbors to live in apartments in the same building or in a different house?

Same house ☐ Separate house ☐

60. Do you think that the streets around the outskirts of where you live are important to you?

Yes ☐ No ☐

a. What kind of streets would you like to have?

61. Would you like to buy more furniture for your house?

Yes ☐ No ☐

62. What furniture would you buy?
63. Do you think that it is a good idea to build public housing developments?  
Yes ☐ No ☐  
Why?
64. Why do you think that the government clears slums?
65. What do you think is a slum? Do you know where some are left?
66. Besides the construction of housing developments, in what other ways do you think that the government is able to aid people like you to have the dwelling that they would like?
67. Do you prefer this other way to a housing development?  
Yes ☐ No ☐  
Why?
68. a. (For Movers) Why did you move out of the housing development?  
b. (For Development Renters) Why did you move to this housing development?

QUESTIONS 68c, 69, 70, AND 71 ARE FOR PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT LIVED IN HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS.

- c. Are you interested in getting an apartment or house in a public housing development now or in the future?  
Now: Yes ☐ No ☐ In the future: Yes ☐ No ☐ Maybe: Yes ☐ No ☐
69. Under what conditions would you move?
70. Do you know someone who lives in a housing development?  
Yes ☐ No ☐ In which one?
71. Have you ever visited a housing development?  
Yes ☐ No ☐ Which?
72. How do you think that the authorities select families to live in a housing development?  
1. By the place where they live ☐  
2. By salary ☐  
3. By number of children ☐  
4. By politics (pull) ☐  
5. Because there is a soldier or veteran in the family ☐  
6. Don't know ☐
73. How do you obtain information in relation to the public housing developments?  
a. By newspapers or the radio ☐  
b. Through conversation with friends or relatives ☐  
c. Contact with the housing authority ☐
74. Do you think rent increases or not in the housing development if you buy:
- |                   | Yes                      | No                       |
|-------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. A refrigerator | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. An automobile  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. A radio        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
75. Do you think that most adults (children) who live in a public housing development amuse themselves more, the same, or less than most people (children) who live in another neighborhood (area)?
- | ADULT    | More <input type="checkbox"/> | Same <input type="checkbox"/> | Less <input type="checkbox"/> | Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> |
|----------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| CHILDREN | More <input type="checkbox"/> | Same <input type="checkbox"/> | Less <input type="checkbox"/> | Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> |
76. Where do you think that they have a better atmosphere for educating your children, in another place or in a public housing development?  
In another place ☐ In public housing development ☐ Don't know ☐
77. Where do you think that they will have better opportunities to get work, living in a housing development or outside of a housing development?  
Anywhere ☐ Public housing development ☐  
Outside of the development ☐ Don't know ☐

78. a. What have you heard said about rules or restrictions in the public housing developments?  
 b. Does it trouble you—

	Haven't heard said	Yes	No
1. That visitors cannot stay overnight?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. That it is necessary to have the apartment clean?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. That the administrators of the housing project inspect many dwellings?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. That it is necessary to put out the lights at a certain time?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. That you have to paint the house yourself?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. That the rent is increased if your income increases?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. That you cannot drive nails into the walls?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. That you are not able to have domestic pets (animals)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. That you are very restricted about garbage?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. That you are not able to transact business in the houses?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Other?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

79. (If 78b is Yes) Why is it troublesome?

80. Do you know if the public housing developments have—

	Yes	No	Don't Know
1. (Maternal) schools?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Playgrounds for children?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Places of recreation for adults?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Carts for garbage collection?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Health centers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Recreation parks?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

81. Do you think the rent in the public housing developments is higher or lower than that in a good little house?

Higher ☐ Lower ☐ The Same ☐ Don't Know ☐

82. What do you think happens if you don't pay the rent in a public housing development?

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